

THE AMERICAN MONTHLY Illustrated REVIEW OF REVIEWS

Edited by ALBERT SHAW

The End of the Great Coal Strike

- I. THE EDITOR'S ACCOUNT IN "THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD"
The President's Great Achievement—The Union's Worthy Effort—Mitchell as Strike Leader
—A New Crop of Radicals—The Tribunal as Arranged
- II. HOW THE STRIKE WAS SETTLED. By Walter Wellman
- III. A CHARACTER SKETCH OF JOHN MITCHELL
By Frank Julian Warne. With Portrait
- IV. LEADING ARTICLES ON THE COAL STRIKE AND LABOR UNIONS
The Views of Professor Gunton, Carroll D. Wright, Henry D. Lloyd, and others
- V. THE AMERICAN CARTOONISTS ON THE COAL SITUATION
The Department of Current History in Caricature is devoted to the recent cartoons inspired by the Strike and its Settlement

Carroll D. Wright

A Character Sketch by H. T. Newcomb

Why a Two Years' College Course is Desirable

An Interview with President Butler, of Columbia University

A Successful Farm Colony in the Irrigation Country

By Albert Shaw. Illustrated

The Rise of the Nature-Writers

By Francis W. Halsey. With Portraits

The Great Growth of Trust Companies

By Charles A. Conant

Self-Government in Oriental Dependencies

By Jeremiah W. Jenks

Our Government in the Philippines, 1898-1902

By Arthur Wallace Dunn

Emile Zola, the Journalist-Novelist

With Portrait

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THE AMERICAN MONTHLY REVIEW OF REVIEWS.

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW.

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JOHN EDWARD REDMOND, M.P.

Leader of the Irish Nationalists in the House of Commons and head of the United Irish League,
who arrived in this country on October 17.

THE AMERICAN MONTHLY

Review of Reviews.

VOL. XXVI.

NEW YORK, NOVEMBER, 1902.

No. 5

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD.

The President's Great Achievement. On a desk calendar entitled "The Shakespearean Year," the quotation for October 15 was: "All great achievements are the natural fruits of a great character." On that date President Roosevelt terminated the most formidable industrial deadlock in the history of the United States by securing from representatives of the opposing forces their assent to his plan for bringing about an immediate resumption of anthracite coal mining, and a deliberate and permanent adjustment of the questions in controversy. President Roosevelt had been told that he had no warrant for intervention; that he must almost certainly fail if he tried; and that he would injure his prestige and perhaps sacrifice his political future if he essayed to step outside the rôle of his constitutional duties to act as industrial peacemaker in a time of national emergency. But Mr. Roosevelt's whole career has been built upon a succession of sacrifices of his political future. In his case, "courage mounts to the occasion." Some men calculate with such nicety that they lose all power of bold and effective action. We have endeavored, more than once, to make it clear that Mr. Roosevelt is not an imprudent or unsafe man, but that he is one of those rare Executives able to think with great concentration; to assimilate varied and complex facts; to listen to many counselors with a mind that does not flag, or wander, or cease to dominate the topic of discussion, and to get the best results out of consultations with a vigor of intellectual digestion that very few men possess.

A Threatened Public Calamity. This anthracite coal strike—which had begun early in May,—had not yet caused the public any very serious inconvenience during its first ten or twelve weeks. The price of coal had, of course, advanced; but poor people were needing only a very little through the summer for kitchen use, and the cool and agreeable summer had been

followed by a mild September. But with the approach of October the situation grew serious in the extreme. Many industries dependent upon the use of anthracite coal became greatly embarrassed. The supply was so meager that factory managers were put to their wits' end to get fuel enough at \$15 or \$20 a ton to keep the machinery running; whereas, in normal times their supplies had cost perhaps \$3 a ton. The great majority of the retail coal dealers were entirely sold out, and for the poor who were obliged to buy in small quantities the price had reached a cent a pound, or even more, with the prospect of a total cessation of the anthracite supply. Soft coal was being largely substituted for hard coal; but it also, in the East, had advanced 300 or 400 per cent. in price, and it was not well adapted for chimneys, furnaces, stoves, and grates that had been constructed for anthracite. Furthermore, the cessation of anthracite mining during that half of the year in which the bulk of the winter's supply is produced had created a situation of scarcity that could have been wholly overtaken by the utmost effort to substitute the bituminous article. With the cold American winters, the fuel supply was a necessity ranking only second to the supply of bread; and, indeed, the supply of bread was already affected, for the bakers in the Eastern cities had, as a general rule, been compelled to advance the price of the standard

The Parties in Interest. Thus, the interest of the general public in the coal strike had rapidly grown that of the two parties in dispute. The striking miners were being supported by contributions from their fellow-unionists employed in the bituminous mines of the country, and by funds from other organized labor bodies and were not in any dire want. Their confidence was firm, and they showed not the slightest disposition of surrender. The operators, on the other hand,—leagued in a firm and closely-organized

nopoly, with absolute control of the anthracite coal trade,—were indifferent equally to the demands of the miners and to the clamorings of the public. They issued solemn pronouncements, of a metaphysical nature, evidently intended to create discussion and divert attention from the practical situation. It had all along been believed by the public that the readjustment of the finances of several of the coal-carrying railroads, and the creation of the so-called anthracite coal trust, had left the real authority centered in the banking house of J. P. Morgan & Co.; and that Mr. Morgan himself, by speaking the word at any time, could have brought about a conference which would have ended the deadlock and given the public its coal supply. But Mr. Morgan had been in Europe most of the summer, and he was occupied with several other business situations of vast magnitude. The coal trust was in the hands of a board of directors consisting of the presidents of a group of coal-carrying railroads. The headship of this group of presidents fell to Mr. George F. Baer, by virtue of the fact that he had been made president of the Reading Company,—which, with its railroad lines and its coal mines, is much the largest single factor in the federated group of interests that constitutes the monopoly of anthracite coal mining, carrying, distribution, and sale.

*Mr. Morgan
as "deus ex
machina."*

Mr. Morgan had, it was understood, practically agreed early last spring, in view of his expected absence from the country for some months and of his absorption in other affairs, to leave to this group of railway presidents the full authority to represent the coal monopoly in its controversy with the miners. He had returned from Europe on August 20. It had been the hope of everybody that he would see the impossibility of a solution of the trouble on the lines that the board of railway presidents had adopted, and that he would take the matter up on its own merits. So sensitive, indeed, was Mr. John Mitchell, the head of the striking Miners' Union, to the demands of the suffering public for a resumption of the coal supply, that he went so far—though this fact was not made public at the time,—as to offer to undertake to persuade the miners to resume work at once on Mr. Morgan's promise to take up the miners' claims in his own way, and to render a decision upon the questions in controversy. This remarkable offer was made in perfect good faith, quixotic though it might seem to some people. The leader of one compact party in a great industrial conflict proposed to lay down arms on condition that the one really controlling head of the equally compact party on the other side

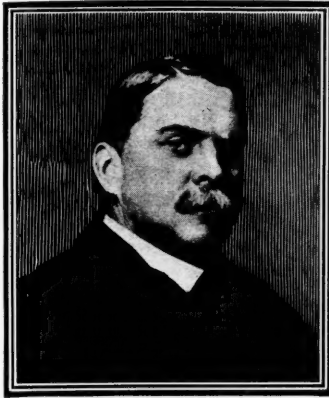
should, himself, name the terms upon which future peace could be maintained. This was characteristic of Mr. John Mitchell's breadth of mind, and of his instinctive belief in the American love of justice and fair play. He believed the miners' cause would be safe even in the hands of its most inveterate opponents, if the points at issue could but be taken up responsibly upon their real merits.

*Too Busy in
Wall Street
for Labor
Problems.*

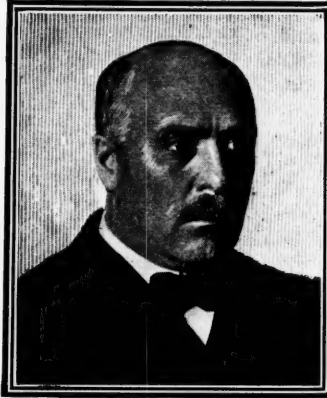
The principal trouble in this protracted anthracite dispute had grown out of the fact that the labor situation in the coal mines has never had (since the change of conditions that has been brought about by the creation of the anthracite monopoly) any real consideration whatever from the people in actual authority. This larger mastery of the production and mining of anthracite coal has been, from the point of view of private finance, a great triumph. The gentlemen who have come forward as official heads of the coal-carrying railroads, and who in that capacity jointly manage the anthracite coal fields, are not in their present positions by virtue of any especial knowledge of the way to solve labor disputes. They are part of a great financial and administrative organization that has been endeavoring so to regulate the coal output; so to adjust freight charges; so to apportion shipments; and—with competition eliminated,—so to fix at profitable levels the market price of coal, as to put new value into depressed or non-dividend-paying stocks. It has been their task to make money for their stockholders,—partly from those legitimate savings by which combinations can capitalize competitive waste; but partly, also, by exactions from the general public. In short, they have been reaping the reward of successful monopoly control of the production, transportation, and marketing of an article of common use and prime necessity. These things, rather than labor problems, had been claiming their best attention.

*Capital Blind
and Deaf.*

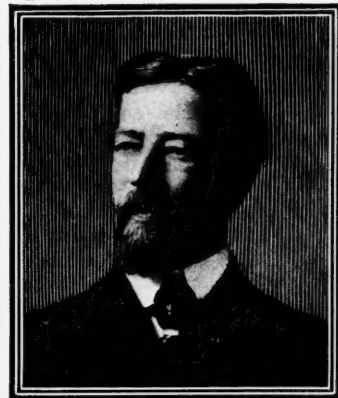
This modern reorganization of the anthracite business, moreover, was only an incident in that stupendous movement,—centered principally in Wall Street,—for combining industrial and transportation companies, floating new issues of bonds and stocks, and rolling up with dazzling and unprecedented rapidity vast private wealth. Still further, let it be said with unshrinking frankness, that most, if not all, of the men most largely concerned on the capitalistic side have been, to no small extent, absorbed in the brilliant personal opportunities that these Wall



MR. W. H. TRUESDALE.
(President of the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad.)



MR. F. D. UNDERWOOD.
(President of the Erie Railroad.)



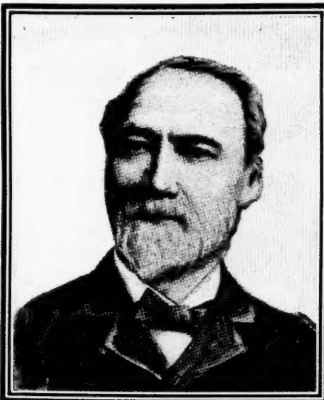
Copyright, 1901, by Gutekunst.
MR. GEORGE F. BAER.
(President of the Philadelphia & Reading Railway.)

Street reorganizations and combinations have afforded for the making or multiplication of their own personal fortunes. Thus, instead of being the men who had best understood the coal miners' situation in eastern Pennsylvania, they have been the men who have seemed to careful observers to understand it least of all,—so intently have their minds been fixed upon other objects and other considerations. It is only upon this theory that their mistaken utterances during the five months of the coal strike could possibly be accounted for, as well as their total failure to see themselves, and the situation they had created, as they were seen by almost everybody else. Before the strike began efforts had been made by patriotic and public-spirited men, who compose the National Civic Federation, to avert a struggle by conciliation or arbitration. The Civic Federation is made

up, in considerable part, of large employers of labor. It is entitled to public confidence; and it could have averted the anthracite trouble with perfect ease if it had not found the operators wholly intractable.

Indeed, a careful study of all the facts made it rather difficult not to believe that, for some reason or another, the operators desired at the outset to have the strike come on; and that, during most of its continuance, they did not wish to have it terminated. Why they should have desired a strike, is a question that has been variously answered. Under cover of the confusion there were said to be large transfers of the securities of some of the companies concerned; and it was the opinion, in certain business circles, that the strike had been employed to depress values

Was the Strike Desired?



MR. R. M. OLYPHANT.
(President of the Delaware & Hudson Company.)



MR. T. P. FOWLER.
(President of the New York, Ontario & Western Railway.)

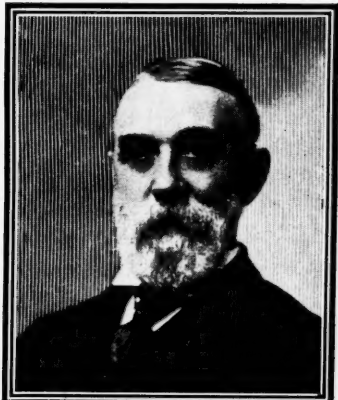


Photo by A. Dupont.
MR. E. B. THOMAS.
(Chairman of the Executive Department, Erie Railroad.)

in order to make easier the further purchase of stocks so as to insure permanent control. Another opinion seems to have been that—inasmuch as the strike would make an immense increase in the cost of coal to the public—the anthracite trust would find it easier to fix a higher permanent level of prices than had existed before. Such a result would naturally reward the monopoly for a vast deal of temporary inconvenience. A third theory was that the coal operators were simply acting on behalf of a coalition of interests that now dominate a number of so-called trusts and combinations; and that this coalition is deeply opposed to organized labor, and desirous of crushing out trade-unionism.

Trade-Unionism's Death Sentence.

According to this view, it was believed by the capitalists when the strike came on last spring, that the time was favorable for meeting the Miners' Union; and that the operators would certainly win a victory, destroy the prestige of Mr. Mitchell's organization, and, henceforth, have the labor situation wholly in their own hands. In any case, the strike seems to have been welcomed by the operators, who entered upon it without the slightest misgivings, not dreaming that they were destined to be humiliated and defeated in the end. The very ill-advised strike of the Amalgamated Iron and Steel Workers against the steel trust last year had ended in failure for the strikers; but it had also made combined capital a little too confident in its sheer strength, and had made it forgetful of the fact that "circumstances alter cases," and that every labor situation must be judged upon its own intrinsic merits. It should be understood that the main question all along has been, not whether the miners were justified in making certain specific demands having to do with wages and conditions of employment, but whether they were right in asking for the establishment of some regular way of dealing between capital and labor. Thus, the miners were fighting for a way to bring about orderly and decent conditions in the anthracite district; and the operators were fighting for the retention of anomalous and disorderly conditions.

Monopoly on One Side—

When as in the old times the anthracite districts were divided up among a large number of really independent mine owners and operators, local strikes might, indeed, be frequent; but general strikes were practically impossible, and uniformity of conditions throughout the mining regions were not to be expected. But, when the coal-carrying railroads by discriminating freight rates had frozen out most of the independent operators,

and leased or bought most of the coal lands, a new era was beginning. And when these railways ceased to compete with one another in the anthracite trade, and found a way to unite their coal interests, the new era was fairly launched. It is true that their spokesmen stated, last month, that there were still seventy-five different operators in the anthracite region; but, so far as the public is concerned, there is only one operator. On the side of the producing, carrying, and selling of coal, the situation is completely controlled by an organization in which the coal-carrying roads are leagued; this organization spoke for the entire anthracite business, last month, just as if there had been only one anthracite mine in the world, of which it was absolute owner. And when, finally, the situation became unbearable, the murmurs of public opinion began to grow louder until a tornado was imminent, and Mr. Morgan himself appeared on behalf of the joint coal and railway interests,—no coal-mine operator or railroad director ventured for a moment to deny that Mr. Morgan was authorized to speak for the combined capitalists, as completely as, on the other side, Mr. John Mitchell was authorized to speak for the combined laborers.

—Means Union on the Other Side.

Thus, combined capital presented a solid front. Local mine owners had abdicated the responsibility of direct relations with their employees, and had allowed all negotiations on their behalf to be carried on, first, by a board of railway officials meeting in New York, and, finally, by one New York banker. Effrontery, let it be said, could not have gone farther than for capital under these circumstances to deny to plain workingmen the right, for their own protection and advantage, to form associations and to deal with capital through their chosen agents or representatives. Not only was it reasonable that the coal miners should have been united in a great trade union; but it was plainly to the advantage of legitimate owners and employers—in view of the existing situation—that this union should be recognized and dealt with. There is, indeed, far more reason for the existence of the one general organization of miners in the anthracite regions than in the bituminous States, for the simple reason that the whole anthracite business has been brought under control of a single monopoly, while nothing of the kind is true of coal-mining in the bituminous regions.

The Union's Worthy Record.

Yet experience in the principal bituminous States has shown that Mr. Mitchell's organization—the United Mine Workers,—is a beneficent factor. In those

States, the bituminous operators appoint a committee of representative employers which, every year, meets a representative committee of miners. After due discussion, the wage-scales are fixed for a year to come on the plan of "collective bargaining," and the United Mine Workers hold their members to faithful keeping of these contracts. Thus, the turbulence and strife that were once almost chronic in the mining districts of such States as Ohio and Illinois are at an end, and employers and employed alike are warm in their approval of the new arrangement. All that Mr. John Mitchell has tried to bring about in the anthracite regions has been the adoption of a wage-scale upon the sensible, businesslike plan of mutual discussion and agreement. Mr. Mitchell's reasonableness and forbearance, during the past three years, in his endeavor to secure this desirable solution, have been worthy of the highest degree of praise.

But why, if Mr. Mitchell has wanted nothing but what was perfectly reasonable, and as advantageous to one side as to the other, has he met with such rebuffs? The answer is a perfectly simple one. The "powers that be" in Wall Street had never really known what it was that Mr. Mitchell wanted. They were in such a roaring, whirling maelstrom of speculation, company-promoting, railroad reorganization, rivalry among themselves, and the like, that it was practically impossible for anybody outside to shout against such a deafening noise. Mr. Mitchell, and the friends of sane and decent adjustment of the labor situation in Pennsylvania, never got a full hearing in those quarters. This inability to awake dormant intelligence in the seats of the mighty, had led to the strike of the fall of 1900.

Senator Hanna, who was managing the Republican presidential campaign, knew and understood Mr. Mitchell thoroughly. As the result of his own experience as a large bituminous coal operator, he approved of Mr. Mitchell's union and its methods; and he was able to secure a settlement of that strike by obtaining for the Pennsylvania miners a 10 per cent. increase in their wages. But even Mr. Hanna was not able to teach the leaders of Wall Street anything about the labor question. He could only arouse the capitalists to action by frightening them with the bugaboo of Bryanism. They conceded the 10 per cent. advance to stop the strike, without the slightest reference to the justice of the claims of the miners, merely because they were told that labor troubles in the campaign season might put William J. Bryan in

the White House. Mr. Mitchell and his men had won their strike; not on its merits at all, but through the by-play of politics. No attempt was made to deal frankly and directly with them. To avoid the necessity of communicating with them, the 10 per cent. advance was made known by notices posted up at the mines.

*The Situation
of the Spring
of 1901.*

Through the politicians, however, as intermediaries, Mr. Mitchell had been assured that the 10 per cent. advance would hold good for six months, or until April, 1901. Then came the time for a permanent adjustment. But, again, it was impossible to secure any intelligent consideration of what was desired. A great strike was imminent; and Mr. Mitchell—patient, modest, anxious to avert the crisis,—came to New York to secure through a recognition of his union a means for taking up gradually, one by one, the difficulties and grievances involved in the labor situation. The period was the most prosperous in the history of the country, and there could have been no possible excuse for cutting wages down to the former hard-times level. The miners, on the other hand, would have been content to leave wages where they were if owners had been willing to meet workers to consider frankly such a matter as the best plan of weighing coal, and other questions affecting the conditions of employment. Again Mr. Mitchell failed, yet not wholly; for he had received what he believed to be a tacit—though not an explicit—promise that if he could avert a general strike and keep the men at work another year, then he might fairly hope that, in the spring of 1902, his union would be recognized. Meanwhile, he was given reason to believe that a frank and fair investigation of actual conditions would be made in which he and his union would be allowed to participate. On the strength of these vague and indefinite understandings, Mr. Mitchell and the leading local officers of the miners' union went back to Pennsylvania, where, by sheer force of moral leadership, they restrained their justly irritated and impatient followers, and postponed *sine die* what had threatened to be the greatest strike in the history of the United States.

*And that of
the Spring of
1902.*

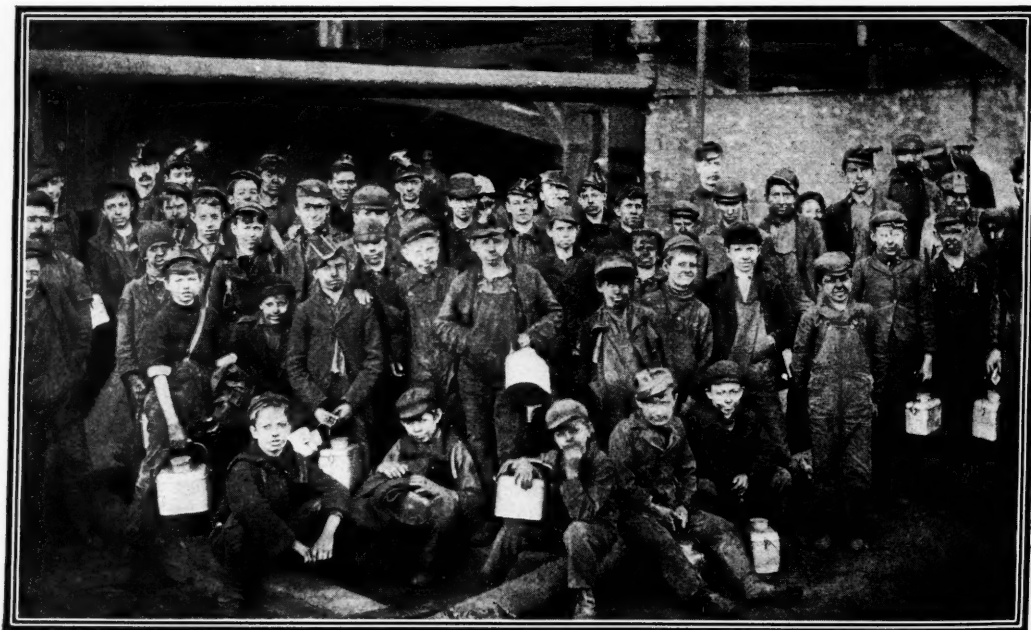
It seems impossible that the coal operators could have been so fatuous and so blind to their own interests as to forget Mr. Mitchell's admirable conduct in the spring of 1901, or to fail to be prepared with some sort of amicable proposals in the spring of 1902. It turned out unfortunately, however, that instead of making ready—as men of good-will had supposed they were doing,—for some system of dealing collectively with the

miners and keeping the peace, the operators were using this year of truce to prepare themselves for war; and so, when the attempt was made in March and April of the present year by disinterested people to secure harmony and prevent a strike, it gradually became obvious that the union of capital had deliberately made up its mind to have nothing to do with the union of labor. Even then, Mr. Mitchell kept his wonderful self-control; counseled further patience; and did all that he could to prevent a strike, in the hope that the friends of arbitration would ultimately succeed. His advice did not prevail, however. The more radical leaders of the anthracite men carried the day, in a large and representative miners' convention; and so the strike was ordered.

Mr. Mitchell accepted the mandate of the convention, and as president of the organization did not shirk from the official duty to lead a strike which he had hoped to avert. No better strike leader than John Mitchell has ever emerged in any time of industrial strife in this country. As one means to bring public opinion to their support, the mine owners—through individuals and newspapers employed by them,—adopted a policy of calumny and slander against Mitchell personally. This policy completely failed through Mr. Mitchell's remarkable poise and self-control.

*Mitchell as
Strike Leader.*

Never once was he provoked to bitterness or retort. All his utterances were statesmanlike in their tone of moderation and calmness; and, although the monopoly of capital was far more vulnerable than the organization of labor, Mr. Mitchell avoided recrimination, and said not one disagreeable word about the men who were publicly saying so many false things about him. The excellent discipline and order maintained under Mr. Mitchell's leadership of the strikers will only be comprehended by an inquiry made in the historical and comparative spirit. Great industrial strikes are never as polite as ladies' missionary meetings, nor quite so free from turbulence as Sunday-school picnics. In the course of this Pennsylvania strike there was some crime, some disorder, and some unjust and wholly objectionable interference with the few non-union men who had not the disposition to coöperate with the great mass of their fellow-workers; but, as compared with former strikes in the Pennsylvania coal regions, or with former strikes in the bituminous regions of Ohio, Illinois, and various other States,—or as compared with a dozen street railroad strikes in different American cities in recent months or years,—this Pennsylvania strike was a peaceable affair. As an excuse to the public for not supplying coal, the operators continually stated that they could obtain an abundance of labor if the State of Pennsylvania would only protect their men against the vio-



ANTHRACITE MINERS, WITH BREAKER BOYS, AT THE LUNCH HOUR.

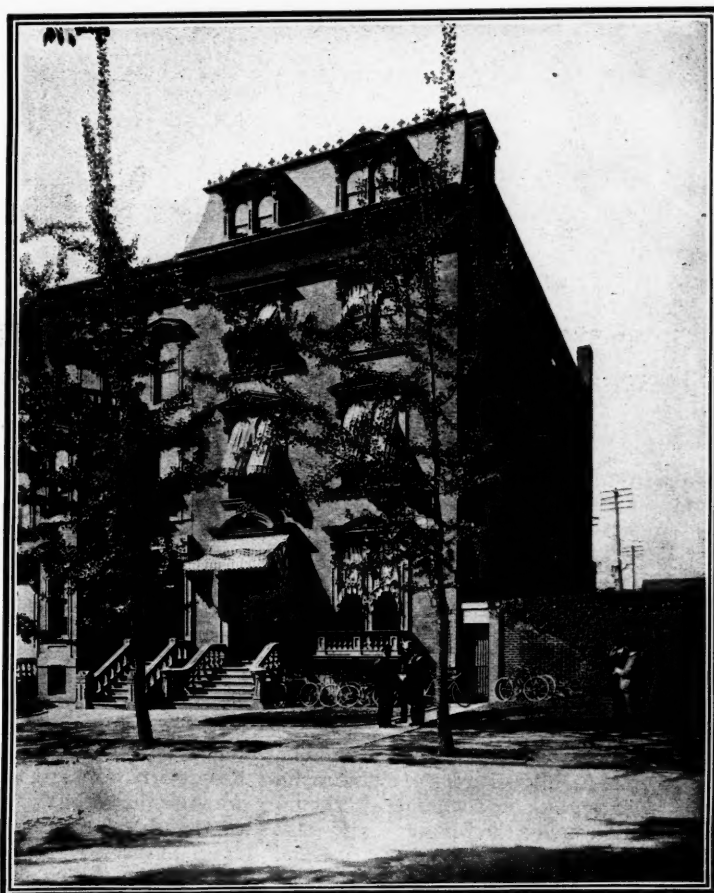
lence of the strikers. This statement was false, as were also a series of statements, issued from time to time, respecting violence by strikers, and the extent to which mining operations had been resumed with non-union labor.

*President
Roosevelt's
Intervention.*

The climax of the situation was reached when the President of the United States decided to invite Mr. Mitchell representing the miners, and the group of presidents of coal-carrying roads who were, jointly, leading the fight on the other side, to come to the White House on October 3, and allow him to express the urgency of the situation on behalf of the suffering public. The invitation having been accepted by both sides, there was a widespread hope that the end was near; this hope was dashed, however, by the results of the conference. President Roosevelt, in an admirable statement, impartial and conciliatory, called upon both sides regardless of what they might deem their rights, to make concessions in the interest of the country, as a whole. Mr. Mitchell, on behalf of the strikers, promptly rose, and offered to abide by the decision of any arbitrators appointed by President Roosevelt, and, meanwhile, to resume work. This proposal was what the President desired, and what the country regarded as reasonable. To the surprise, however, of the President, and to the dismay of the country, the group of gentlemen representing the employers arose one after another and read to the President a series of typewritten lectures, denouncing the strikers, refusing arbitration at President Roosevelt's hands, and calling upon the President to send federal troops to support the operators.

*A Final Test in
Pennsylvania.*

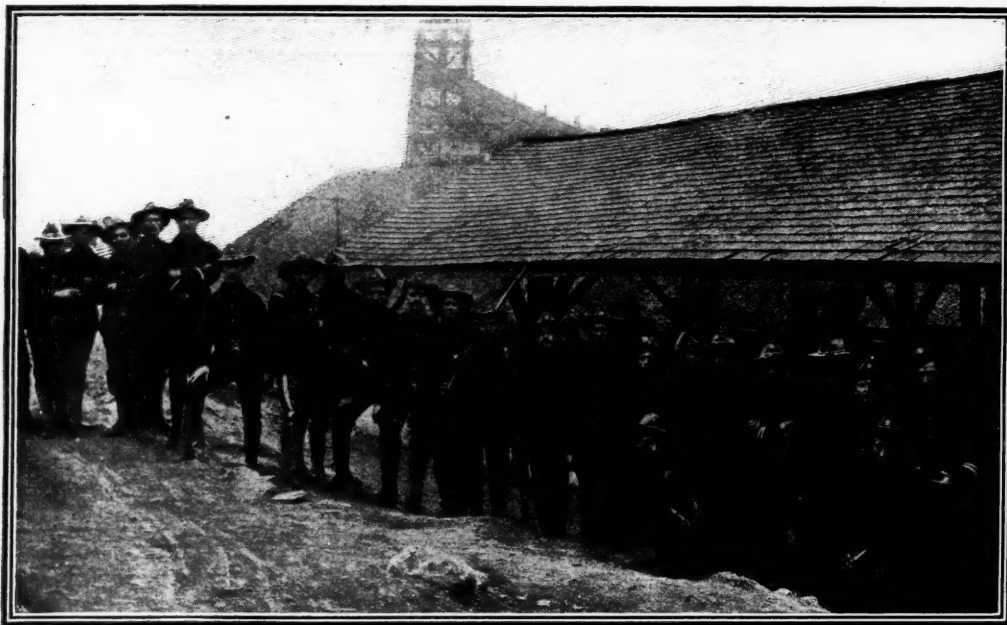
After this performance, the tide of American indignation ran higher than it has gone over any recent event except the assassination of President McKinley.



THE SO-CALLED "TEMPORARY WHITE HOUSE."

(Where President Roosevelt is living while the White House is undergoing extensive alterations, and where the coal strike was ended by the President's interposition.)

To test, however, the question whether or not the operators could mine coal if there were troops enough to keep the peace and protect the workers, Governor Stone, of Pennsylvania, called out the entire force of the State National Guard, some ten thousand men in all; and these troops were distributed at points where it was thought that trouble might arise. The upshot was that every local lodge of the miners' organization met to pass a vote of confidence in Mr. Mitchell, and to declare their determination to stand together and to maintain the strike. The ten thousand Pennsylvania troops found practically no disorder anywhere; and the promise of the operators that men would flock back to the mines was wholly unfulfilled. They then had the audacity to say that ten thousand troops were not enough, and that President Roosevelt ought to



PENNSYLVANIA MILITIAMEN ON DUTY IN THE COAL REGION.

send a large contingent of the United States regular army. This, however, was obviously absurd. The available mine labor belonged to the union, and the union did not show the slightest sign of disintegration. Then the public began to turn its flashlights upon the anthracite monopoly itself, and to ask whether it should not be prosecuted under the Sherman anti-trust law. Complaints were lodged against it; and Attorney-General Knox, with the sanction of President Roosevelt, instructed the United States District Attorney at New York to listen to the evidence that might be offered in support of the petition, and to give the subject prompt investigation.

The Politicians Aroused. The coal question, meanwhile, had absorbed the entire attention of the community; and the politicians, of both parties, regarded it as having a vital bearing upon the pending Congressional and State campaigns. The Democrats of the State of New York were holding their convention, at this juncture; and they inserted in their platform a plank calling for the ownership and operation of the anthracite mines by the Government. Senator Quay, of Pennsylvania, and his colleague, Mr. Penrose, exerted themselves to the utmost to secure some concessions from the operators; and Governor Odell, and other leading Republican politicians of New York, joined in a

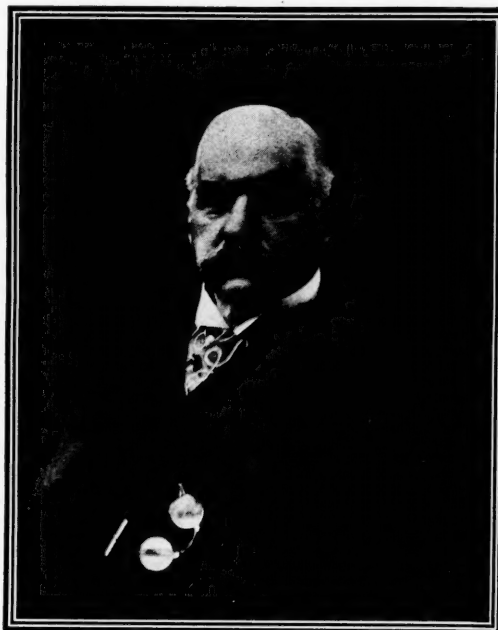
series of conferences which only secured for them the same kind of emphatic rebuff that President Roosevelt had met with at the hands of the operators. Governor Odell's answer took the practical form of proceedings instituted by the attorney-general of the State to ascertain whether the anthracite monopoly was in violation of the New York anti-trust law. Newspapers, mass meetings, boards of trade, and various organizations throughout the United States were at this time denouncing the Coal Trust and demanding its prosecution. Conspicuous lawyers like ex-Attorney-General Olney were scathing in their denunciations of the trust, and frank in their statements that it could be criminally prosecuted under the laws.

Mr. Morgan's Reversal of the Operators. Meanwhile, the coal famine was becoming daily worse, and President Roosevelt was striving day and night to find a way to bring it to an end. Mr. Morgan at length perceived that the country was determined to hold him responsible; and that the position so arrogantly maintained by the gentlemen who were regarded as his lieutenants, was untenable, and must be given up. Accordingly,—after personal conferences at New York with Mr. Root, the Secretary of War,—Mr. Morgan on October 13 went to Washington, conferred with President Roosevelt, and finally agreed to leave all issues concerned to a board

of arbitration to be appointed by the President. This proposition of October 13 differed, in no essential respects, from the proposal that Mr. Mitchell had made ten days earlier; excepting that, whereas Mr. Mitchell had offered to leave everything unconditionally to a tribunal to be selected by the President, the operators' proposal brought by Mr. Morgan limited the President in the choice of arbitrators to certain classes of men. So obviously one-sided a proposal could not have been entertained under any conditions less desperate than those existing; but President Roosevelt showed his good sense and his practical mind by not summarily rejecting the proposition, but by receiving it as a starting-point for a solution.

*The Final
Terms of
Settlement.*

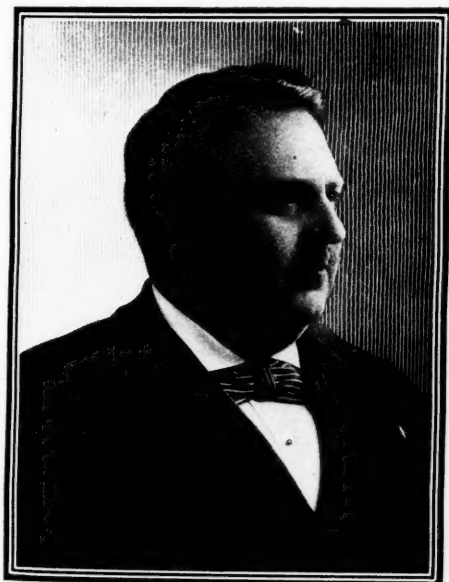
Mr. Mitchell was sent for; and he went to Washington firmly opposed to the acceptance of a tribunal which one side to a controversy was seemingly endeavoring to make up in a pettifogging spirit in its own interest. President Roosevelt convinced him, however, that it would be possible to choose perfectly fair-minded men from the categories prescribed by the operators, and names were freely discussed. Mr. George W. Perkins, of Mr. Morgan's firm, then went to Washington; and, through him, the employing interests were persuaded to consent that the President should



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MR. J. P. MORGAN.

(Who responded to the President's appeal and arranged to arbitrate the strike.)



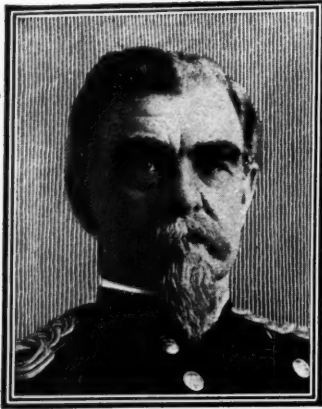
FRANK P. SARGENT.

(Now Commissioner of Immigration, formerly head of Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, who aided President Roosevelt in securing arbitration.)

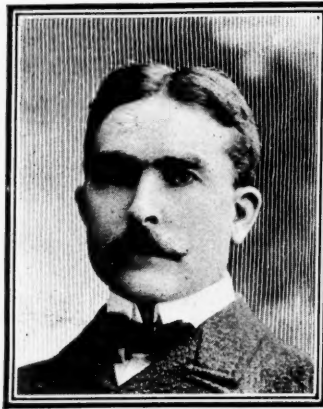
add a sixth member to the five they had proposed. Thus, a seemingly irreconcilable situation was harmonized by President Roosevelt, when he found himself dealing with a reasonable man on one side and a reasonable man on the other. It is hard to get committees to act as sensibly as their members would have acted individually. When Mr. Morgan took up the matter, the solution was near.

*The Tribunal
as Arranged.*

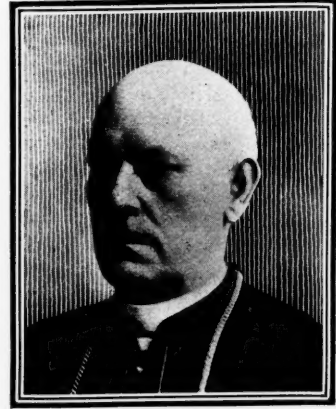
The operators had stipulated that the tribunal should be made up of an army or navy engineer; an expert mining engineer; a man who had had experience with the coal business as an operator or merchant; a United States judge for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania; and an eminent man, recognized as a sociologist. To those the President chose to add a sixth, who should be an eminent Roman Catholic prelate, nearly all of the miners being adherents of the Catholic Church. General Wilson, Judge Gray, and Bishop Spalding, are men of ripe years and national fame; eminently qualified, by character, intelligence, and experience, to serve on any tribunal of arbitration. Mr. Parker—selected as a mining expert—is our foremost authority upon coal statistics. He is editorially connected with a



Gen. John M. Wilson.



Mr. Thomas H. Watkins, of Scranton.

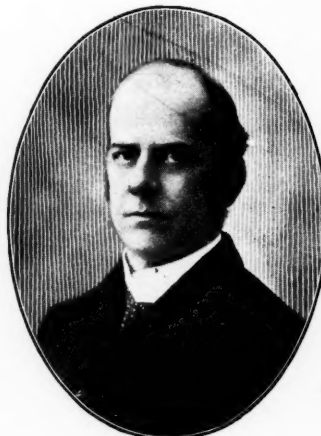


Bishop John L. Spalding, of Peoria, Ill.

THREE OF THE SIX COAL-STRIKE ARBITRATORS.

technical and trade journal that has been aggressively opposed to the miners and their organization at every stage. Mr. Parker would have made an invaluable expert witness before the tribunal, and it is not to be assumed that he will be unduly biased as a judge. Mr. Watkins, who was formerly an independent anthracite mine owner, is in a position to understand intimately the views of the so-called coal trust. Mr. Clark—who was selected by President Roosevelt as the eminent man acquainted with sociology—is head of the order of railroad conductors, and a man of great intelligence, respected alike by capitalists and trade-unionists, and thor-

oughly acquainted with labor problems, as such. Carroll D. Wright, who was named as recorder of the commission, will presumably take the initiative in conducting its investigations; he is, in many ways, the most highly-qualified man in the country to ascertain the facts involved in this controversy, and to weigh the merits of the opposing contentions. Taken as a whole, it is an admirable commission; and its appointment represents a humane and Christian solution, advantageous to labor, and reassuring to capital. Why should the business interests of this country be endangered by labor disputes and strikes when a resort to such a tribunal as this one is

Judge George Gray,
of Delaware.Mr. Edward W. Parker,
of New York.Mr. Edward E. Clark,
of Cedar Rapids, Ia.

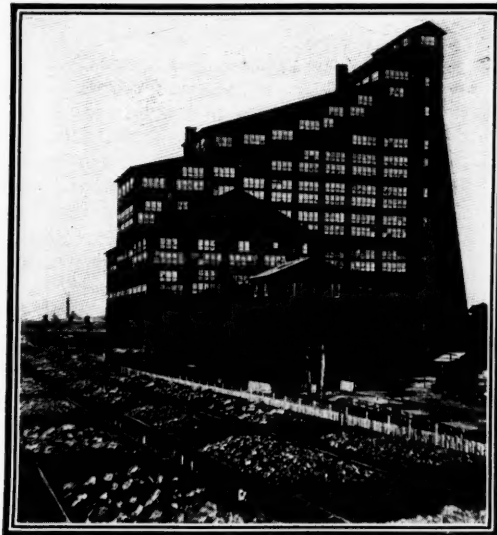
THREE OF THE SIX COAL-STRIKE ARBITRATORS.

almost always readily available? There has never been a moment since their present organization was formed when the coal miners of Pennsylvania would not have been eager to submit their claims to such a tribunal. It is a great thing that the employers have now been forced by public opinion to realize that they too must be somewhere nearly as reasonable as the trade-unions. Common sense has indeed won a victory.

*A New
Crop of
Radicals.*

The coal strike overshadowed all other topics last month; yet the acute phases of the subject did not prevent a widespread discussion of the principles involved. For once, many of the extreme social and economic radicals were content to be silent in order to hear astonishing avowals from the mouths of men heretofore regarded as the very high priests of conservatism. What was there for the extremists to say when men like Richard Olney, formerly Attorney-General and Secretary of State, should declare that the anthracite operators who had called on the President to suppress the law-breaking strikers, were themselves "the most unblushing and persistent law-breakers." Continuing in this vein Mr. Olney, said:

For years they have discriminated between customers in the freight charges on their railroads in violation of the interstate commerce law. For years they have unlawfully monopolized interstate commerce in violation of the Sherman anti-trust law. Indeed, the very best excuse and explanation of their astonishing attitude at the Washington conference is that, having violated so many laws for so long and so many times, they might rightfully think they were wholly immune from either punishment or reproach.



A BREAKER IN THE HARD-COAL REGION, WITH SOFT-COAL TRAINS PASSING EN ROUTE TO NEW YORK.

There were no doubts whatever as to the views and sympathies of ex-President Cleveland, who heartily approved of the steps taken by President Roosevelt. As against the assertion by the operators of the unqualified right to manage their own affairs without interference, either from the workmen or from the public, the answer of aroused American conservatism was that in the last analysis the rights of the private owners of the coal mines were least important of all. The most fundamental right was that of



ANTHRACITE MINERS AT HOME.

the public to obtain its necessary fuel supplies. Next in importance was the well-being of the large population employed in the hard and dangerous work of mining coal for public use. American conservatism will not confiscate anybody's property, and it will doubtless deal most tenderly with the issues of watered stocks and bonds that the monopoly exploitation of the anthracite coal fields has converted into the semblance of sacred vested interests.

*An Advance
in Thinking.*

But American economic thinking has made a great advance. Public ownership of coal mines has now been talked of, not merely by the class of men called rabid socialists, but by hard-headed business men and shrewd practical politicians. We are not, indeed, going to have public ownership and operation of coal mines in the United States at any time in the near future;—at least, there is no probability of such a development. But we may fairly hope to have a state of public intelligence and political honesty which will bring about the rigid enforcement of means to regulate and control such combinations as the one which has brought on this great anthracite trouble of the present year. One of the disadvantages of the country is, that so many lawyers of the ability and force of Mr. Richard Olney, instead of being engaged on the side of the public, are the advisers of the great trusts and combinations which rely upon expert legal counsel to point out the way to violate the laws. Meanwhile, there has also been a renewed study of labor questions, and a hopeful revival of interest in the question how best to keep the peace between capital and labor.

*Some
American
Principles.*

Those misunderstandings and conflicts which have so disturbed European industry, and curtailed its development, are not wanted in the United States. This country has prospered on two general principles, (1) that of encouraging the largest possible output, and (2) that of paying liberal wages; while English and European trade-unionism has stood for small output, fixity of condition, and stagnant rather than buoyant industry. The kind of trade-unionism that refuses to give the industrious and ambitious man a chance, as against the lazy, inferior, and incompetent workman, is mischievous; and it must be reformed, or destroyed. Strikes are a perilous resort, and are always evidence of stupidity on one side or on both sides; and, generally, of turpitude on the one side or the other. The public does not hold to severe enough account the men who are ultimately discovered to

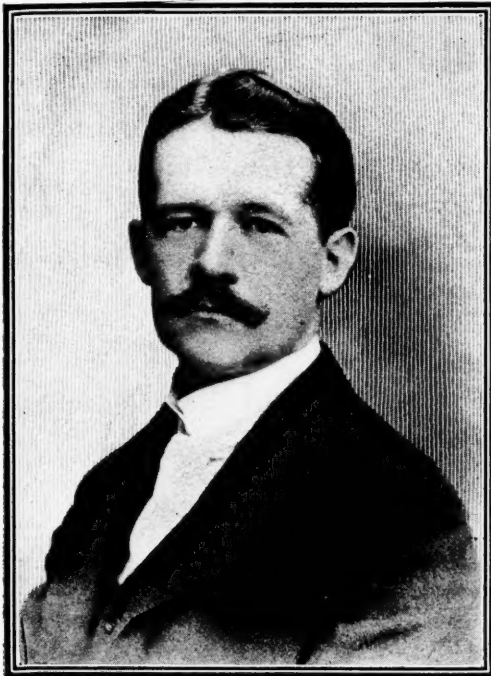
have been responsible for a needless labor conflict. Some labor leaders are reckless and fanatical, and some capitalists are pompous and arbitrary; but the leaders on both sides are usually well-meaning, and responsive to an appeal to the sense of fair play. The real fault will generally be found to lie simply in a lack of intelligence. This is the trouble that chiefly afflicts Wall Street at present in its new rôle as center of American industrial activity.

*Ignorance in
Wall Street.*

The ignorance of Wall Street touching the history of labor movements, the personality of labor leaders, the aims of trade-unionism, and the ordinary working in the labor market of the law of supply and demand, is greater than is commonly believed. Wall Street very much dreads and dislikes what it calls a harsh and indiscriminate attempt at the enforcement of the anti-trust laws; yet it has been indulging in the fantastic dream that, with its new and experimental weapons of industrial combination, it could at once go forth and destroy so firmly established a force as trade-unionism. It would seem clear to the most ordinary intelligence that the one indispensable policy for Wall Street to adopt was that of liberality toward labor and large encouragement to trade-unionism. Trust methods make it easily possible for industries to pay good wages and keep the peace with their men, and thereby they strengthen themselves at a thousand points. "Collective bargaining," made possible by the existence on the one side of large capitalistic combinations, and of trade unions on the other side, affords the easiest and best attainable method by which the trust magnates can keep clear of labor troubles, and carry on their affairs profitably and safely. To many thoughtful observers of this strike in its successive phases, the most painful and the most disquieting thing of all, therefore, was the revelation it gave of the short-sightedness of a group of employers who were risking everything they had to fight desperately against the very method of dealing with their labor-problems that would have been most beneficial to themselves. The worst of it was they thought their ignorance wisdom, and distrusted the wisdom of their own friends who really knew. There were individual men in Wall Street who would have arrived at wise conclusions; but they were not given the full opportunity.

Thus, the final concessions were coaxed out of the operators at the last moment by Mr. George W. Perkins, of Mr. Morgan's firm; and there had never

*An Exceptional
Man.*



MR. GEORGE W. PERKINS, WHO AIDED THE PRESIDENT AND MR. MORGAN IN SECURING ARBITRATION.

been a time for eighteen months or two years when, if Mr. Perkins had been authorized to act for the capitalists as Mr. Mitchell was acting for the laborers, the situation could not have been promptly harmonized to the permanent, as well as the temporary, advantage of everybody concerned. He understands that capital and labor should be joint industrial forces; that one needs the other; that it is good for the country that both should be prosperous; and that it is just as fair for one as for the other to be organized, and to deal through accredited representatives. He can grasp the essential principles, and he is practical. It was not men of Mr. Perkins' type who ever supposed that the circulation of petty slanders about John Mitchell would help to settle the anthracite deadlock. Organized labor certainly needs honest and upright leadership; and fortunately, in men like John Mitchell, and like Mr. Clark, of the Railway Conductors,—whom President Roosevelt has selected as a member of the arbitration board,—American trade-unionism to-day has a number of men who lead wisely and intelligently. But, on the other hand, the vast aggregations of organized capital also need wise leadership, and they cannot well endure many such shocks of confidence as this anthracite trouble has produced.

Centralized
Power and
Human Wel-
fare.

The combinations of capital are not all of them predatory or improper; many of them are excellently conducted, and they are becoming great balance-wheels, so to speak, that help—like the succession of regular crops—to keep the flow of national prosperity smooth and steady. Thus, Mr. Morgan's great steamship combination is a most legitimate and admirable triumph of industrial organization and financiering genius. The Steel Corporation bids fair to prove itself not a trust, in any monopoly sense, but a wonderful experiment in the field of industrial economics, a creditable evolution and a valuable factor in this country's prosperity. A number of the great railroad combinations, in like manner, are in the line of genuine progress. Apart from technical questions of a legal nature, it is not to be assumed, off-hand, that even the anthracite operators' agreement is not also a move in the right direction. But the responsibility that goes with the conduct of these vast enterprises cannot be best exercised by men whose mood is arrogant. Power, when it makes men ruthless, is not in fit hands. Let us hope Wall Street will have learned something from this last experience; and that it will, at least, have a better instinct as to the men competent to give it advice in problems involving human welfare.

The
Political
Pendulum.

The politicians had been much puzzled over the question how this strike would affect the approaching elections. Early in October—when the President's efforts seemed doomed to failure through the obduracy of the capitalists,—it was widely believed that the new Congress would be overwhelmingly Democratic. President Roosevelt himself, probably shared in that opinion. No very logical reason could be given; but, as a rule, in this country the party in power is always punished for anything in the nature of widespread calamity. It has seemed to fall peculiarly to the lot of the Democratic party to claim that it ought to be rewarded when the people are in trouble; but that is merely because the Republicans happen to have been dominant in our generation much more than half the time. If the political pendulum should prove to have swung the other way this fall, it will not be due to any lack of popular affection for the President and confidence in him. Republican candidates for Congress, indeed, would many of them have been in better position before the people this fall if there had not been something of a prevalent impression that the majority party in Congress had not been supporting the President with due loyalty.

The President's Policies. At least, however,—as we have remarked more than once,—the President is on excellent personal relations with all public men in his party; and he never expected any man to sacrifice honest convictions, on any point, to please the administration. He was naturally disappointed, and deeply so, that Congress failed to uphold the national honor and good faith in dealing with Cuba. No citizen who shares the President's deep convictions on this question will, this year, feel like voting for any Congressional candidate who has not given his word explicitly that he will support President Roosevelt in any non-partisan and patriotic plan for recognizing, by commercial treaty or otherwise, the moral fact of Cuba's dependence upon us as a sequel to our occupation of the island and our forcing upon the Cubans the concessions to us enumerated in the Platt amendment to their constitution. This is the most important business that can come before the present Congress in its short concluding session, which will open on Monday, December 1, and close on Wednesday, March 4. President Roosevelt's fortunate settlement of the coal strike will certainly have saved his party many thousands of votes, as it will also have enhanced his prestige and strengthened his hands for the great tasks that pertain more directly to his office. The circumstances of the strike manifestly brought new support to the President's position on the trust question, as set forth in his recent speeches. It is a growing opinion that, under existing powers, Congress can accomplish a good deal toward the better regulation of the great corporations; and it is possible that both the interstate commerce law and the Sherman anti-trust law may be amended in the near future.

The President's Indisposition. Our October number went to press last month as the President was entering upon his Western speaking tour, with an extensive itinerary, that was to have kept him away from Washington until October 7; and we stopped the presses to make a brief note of the fact that the after-effects of a wound received in the collision of his coach with a trolley car in the Berkshires, on September 3, had compelled a sudden change of plans, the speaking trip being abandoned in Indiana on September 23. The President was suffering excruciating pain from bruises on the left leg below the knee, which had failed to heal properly and had resulted in the formation of an abscess, with some affection of the bone. The leg was operated upon in Indianapolis, and the President was at once removed to Washington, where he was

kept in an invalid's chair, through the anxious conferences over the coal strike, and not allowed to begin to walk until about the middle of October. What the country might have lost in his speeches was more than compensated for in what it gained by his presence at Washington, under circumstances which enabled him to give concentrated and protracted attention to a situation far more important than the pending electoral campaign.



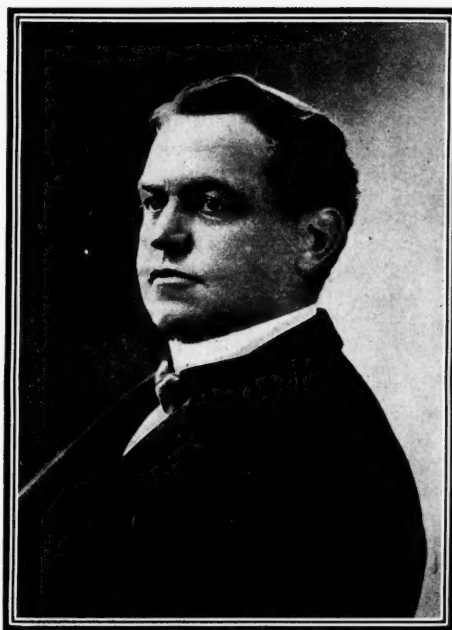
HON. BIRD S. COLER.

Some Notes of the Campaign.

In the normally Republican State of Pennsylvania, it was supposed that Mr. Pattison, the Democratic candidate for governor,—who has twice previously been elected to that office through exceptional local conditions,—may gain votes by reason of the coal strike; but it does not seem likely that he will be able to defeat Judge Pennypacker. In New York the Democrats—as foreshadowed in these pages last month,—nominated Mr. Bird S. Coler for governor; ex-Senator David B. Hill providing the platform, and absolutely dominating the Democratic situation. Mr. Coler was elected comptroller of the city of New York, on the Tammany ticket with Mayor Van Wyck, in 1897. The platform pays particular attention to the tariff question. Yielding to pressure under momentary excitement over the fuel famine, Mr. Hill allowed a plank to be inserted in his platform advocating the national ownership and operation of coal mines. The proposal was not

taken seriously by the newspapers or the public; Governor Odell's reelection, by a normal majority, was regarded as assured after the settlement of the coal strike on October 15. The Republican State Convention endorsed President Roosevelt for renomination in 1904; favored reciprocity with Cuba; spoke for protection, though touching lightly on the tariff issue; and condemned monopolies and trusts, but not in the violent and unqualified terms of the Democratic platform. There were only two notable incidents connected with the State Republican Convention; one being its hearty endorsement of Roosevelt, as against the earlier plans of some of the party leaders; and the other and more dramatic incident being the repudiation of a candidate who had been selected by the leaders for lieutenant-governor, on the ground of his connection, as an active Wall Street man, with a large number of great corporations and so-called trusts. Certain corporate interests had opposed the endorsement of Roosevelt; they were again displeased by the rejection of the candidate who had been selected to run with Mr. Odell. Some, at least, of them were further offended by Mr. Odell's outspoken disapproval of the attitude of the operators in the coal strike. These incidents were said to have resulted in the shutting-off of campaign funds from sources usually relied upon for liberal contributions; but the offishness of Wall Street may be worth more to Governor Odell and the Republican ticket this year than its friendly aid could have been.

The Trusts and the Parties. The pending campaign has afforded a hundred illustrations of the absurdity of trying to give the so-called trust question a party character. The Democrats of New York—breathing out threatenings and slaughter against all trusts in their platform,—placed at the head of their ticket a young Wall Street banker regarded as having trust affiliations; the Republicans, on the other hand, with their much milder platform, refused to allow a very excellent candidate for lieutenant-governor, although originally agreed upon, to have a place on the ticket on account of his connection with numerous corporations. In Massachusetts the Democratic candidate for governor, Mr. Gaston, had attained prominence as the leading spirit in the most powerful corporation of Boston or the State,—a wealthy man, thoroughly identified with the modern corporation methods; the Republicans, on the other hand, departing from their long-established traditions, did not nominate a man of wealth, a Harvard man, or a member of



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HON. JOHN L. BATES, OF MASSACHUSETTS.
(Republican candidate for governor.)

the typical Massachusetts aristocracy of family and culture, but have as their candidate a man of the people who is said to belong to what the older generation will remember as the Henry Wilson type. It is not that Mr. Bates lacks education, experience, and fit qualities; it is only that he represents a larger and plainer element of the people. He is a Methodist rather than a Unitarian or Episcopalian, and a graduate of Boston University rather than of Harvard. He is a lawyer, but not a wealthy one, and he is a downright opponent of trusts; and in the Boston Common Council and in the State Legislature he has kept a watchful eye on the sort of corporate interests that have been represented by Mr. Gaston, the Democratic candidate. Thus, in our model commonwealth of Massachusetts, it is the Republican rather than the Democratic ticket, this year, that best represents the attitude of those who would put greater restrictions upon combinations of capital. There is no need to multiply instances; the trust question evidently does not fit itself to the present-day party alignments. President Roosevelt and Attorney-General Knox fairly represent the average thoughtful view: that the sovereignty of the Government must be maintained, and the laws of the land must not be disregarded; but that, on the other hand, the normal play of business energy should not be

unduly interfered with. Mr. Knox made a masterly speech on the subject at Pittsburg last month. Experience is proving a good teacher.

As for the tariff question, it became more evident as the campaign advanced that it was beginning to assume something of its old primacy of rank, as between parties. The Democrats almost everywhere were declaring that, in the language of the New York platform, "the immediate revision of the tariff is the extreme duty of the hour;" the Republicans, on the other hand, were all of them avowing (1) that the Democratic treatment of the tariff would be dangerous; (2) that the protective principle must be maintained; and, (3) that the present schedules are not sacred and must, in time, be revised. Beyond that point the Republicans differ among themselves,—half of them attaching relative importance to the need of reducing the schedules; and the other half attaching relative importance to the desirability of "letting well enough alone," and avoiding the business disturbance that might arise from attempts to revise a tariff which, after all, is at present working very well. President Roosevelt, in his message to Congress in December, will probably advocate the appointment of a permanent tariff commission,—made up of members of repute and of expert qualification,—who will, from time to time, report upon particular schedules with a view to their scientific readjustment. He will doubtless recommend the immediate abolition of the tariff on anthracite coal, although no one regards this as having any very important bearing upon the recent situation. Further than that, he will press upon Congress the need of reciprocity with Cuba, and will doubtless advise the adoption of Mr. McKinley's policy of reciprocity treaties in various directions. From this time on there will be heard, with increasing frequency, the arguments in favor of reciprocity with Canada.

On the Continent there has been a very bitter outburst of feeling against the United States in consequence of Secretary Hay's protest against the treatment of Jews by Roumania. Many newspapers in Germany and throughout the Continent have treated this as unwarranted interference, and as evidence of seeking on the part of the United States for an excuse to interfere in the internal affairs of Europe. The European opposition to the United States is in reality commercial rather than political, inasmuch as all well-informed European statesmen are well aware that President Roose-

velt and Secretary Hay have not the slightest desire to take any undue part in foreign affairs. President Roosevelt's popularity abroad has, indeed, been shown in hundreds of flattering comments upon his share in the settlement of the coal strike. The prompt action of the tribunal at The Hague, as described in these pages last month, in settling the questions submitted by the United States and Mexico, is everywhere regarded as a happy augury for the future of international arbitration. The dispute did not involve a very large sum of money, and it did not strictly concern either government. The people of the United States as a whole only cared to have a just decision made; they would not therefore have been disappointed or displeased if the verdict had been rendered in favor of Mexico. What has been decided simply is that certain trust funds for Roman Catholic purposes, of which the Government of Mexico acts as custodian, belong in due share to Catholic missions in that part of the United States which was formerly Mexican territory.

It is said that the French Panama Company and the French Government jointly have fully convinced the Government at Washington that a valid title can be given by the company in its proposal to sell to us its franchises and properties. This probably means the final adoption at an early day of the Panama route, inasmuch as it is further reported that our State department is completing the necessary negotiations with the Republic of Colombia. Our navy has been especially active of late in protecting the Panama railroad, and for this we have been much misrepresented in South America. There seems, indeed, to be an organized effort to mislead public opinion in Brazil, the Argentine Confederation, and other South American States, respecting the Monroe Doctrine and the purposes of the United States. It is to be strongly suspected that a good deal of this work is fomented by European political or commercial agents. Thus, the Brazilian people are constantly fed upon the most absurd statements as to the nefarious designs of the United States, especially in the matter of the dispute between Brazil and Bolivia over the Acre territory.

The British Parliament reassembled last month for what will doubtless prove to be a history-making session. The foremost place will be taken by Mr. Balfour's education bill, which proposes such changes in the national system of elementary schools as would result in building up at the expense of

America in Europe.

Domestic Politics in England.

the taxpayers a parochial or private-school system throughout the United Kingdom, to the weakening of the secular, or strictly public, school system that had been inaugurated some thirty years ago. The principal force in support of Mr. Balfour's bill is the Church of England; whose strongest ally in defense of this policy is the Roman Catholic Church, which would under the proposed law dominate the common-school system of Ireland, with all bills paid out of the public treasury. The opponents of the system are, chiefly, the great dissenting religious denominations, and those elements of the population that believe in general in the divorce of church from state and in the modernizing of British institutions. The most powerful personal leader who has come forward in opposition to Mr. Balfour's measure is the Rev. Dr. Clifford, foremost of English Baptists. Many thousands of prominent men following Dr. Clifford, and other Nonconformist leaders, have pledged themselves to the policy known as "passive resistance,"—that is to say, if the bill should become a law they will refuse to pay the taxes known as school rates, the proceeds of which would be turned over to the Church of England or other ecclesiastical denominations for the support of schools that are not under direct public control. With the South African War at an end, the English people are giving their attention to these questions of domestic policy that had been in abeyance for two or three years; and upon such issues the Liberals,—who were hopelessly divided, and therefore without influence in the questions pertaining to South Africa,—are finding a way to reunion, and accordingly to strength and influence. Mr. Chamberlain, who really shares with Mr. Balfour the leadership of the party in power, had formerly been much opposed to the granting of public support to private and denominational schools. But a few days before Parliament re-assembled on October 16, he convinced his devoted followers in Birmingham that it was necessary to support Mr. Balfour's measure in order to prevent the defeat of the party in power at a time when, for other reasons,—such, for example, as Mr. Chamberlain's own reconstruction policy in South Africa,—it is deemed imperative that the Balfour government should not be replaced by a Liberal ministry.

The Irish Question. The opening days of Parliament were marked by extraordinary demonstrations upon the part of the Irish members. During the Parliamentary recess several prominent Irishmen, including members of Parliament, had been arrested under the

coercion law for their active part in the new United Irish League, which is the successor of the old Land League. On general principles, there had been reason to suppose that the Irish party in Parliament would support Mr. Balfour's education bill. But their fierce opposition to Mr. Balfour's administration may lead them to oppose an education bill which they would otherwise favor, for the sake of helping to overthrow a ministry which they regard as peculiarly hostile to Ireland. The Irish leader, John E. Redmond, accompanied by John Dillon and Michael Davitt, attended an Irish convention in Boston last month, and have been speaking elsewhere. Of the new Irish movement Mr. Redmond says:

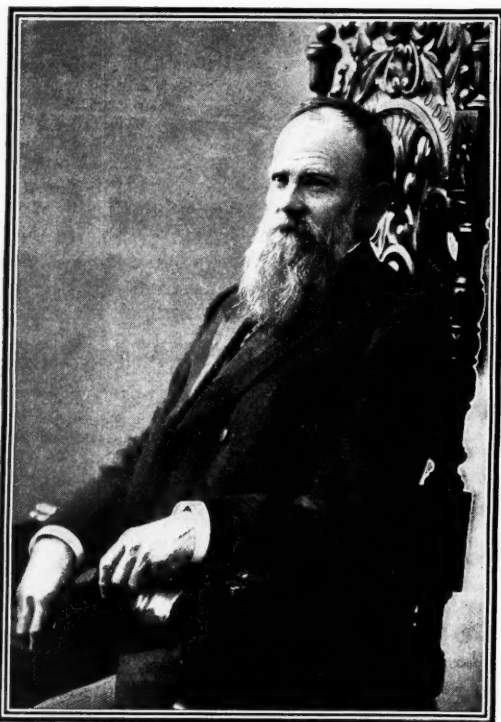
"The league is the ruling power in Ireland to-day, as truly as ever the Land League was. The government played into our hands by the coercion policy, and now the country is aroused. We are on the eve of a settlement of the land question, and after that national self-government will speedily come to Ireland.

"The Irish party now in the House of Commons is the only real opposition in the English Parliament, and I believe the day is near at hand when it will have the controlling influence in Great Britain.

"Hundreds of Irish are imprisoned under the Coercion act without receiving any trial by jury. But nobody cares for imprisonment under these circumstances. The more the people are attacked the higher their spirits rise."

English Industrial Questions.

English industrial questions have occupied an unusual share of attention during the past few weeks. The completion of Mr. Morgan's great steamship combination has been a foremost British topic. To meet this situation, the British Government has committed itself to a plan for the granting of large subsidies to the Cunard line, which was thus dissuaded from going into the combination. The *London Times* has been leading in an aggressive campaign against what is termed municipal socialism,—that is to say, against the very rapid development in the English municipalities of the system of municipal ownership and operation of gas works, street railways, and kindred enterprises. It has now been charged that this aggressive movement against the municipal tendencies of the time in England has been solely at the instigation and expense of certain immense combinations of capital (on the American plan, and to some extent under American leadership) that are proposing to get control of the English trolley systems in pursuance of similar methods in the United States. There are also signs of active interest on the part of American capitalists, not merely in street railroads and London underground lines, but also in the standard steam railway systems of the United Kingdom.



HON. F. W. REITZ, FORMERLY TRANSVAAL STATE SECRETARY.
(Now speaking in this country.)

It is feared by many people in England that South African troubles are only beginning rather than ending. Certainly, the period of reconstruction bids fair to be a long and painful one. State Secretary Reitz of the Transvaal,—who, though he signed the treaty of peace, refused to accept amnesty and British citizenship for himself, and is now traveling in this country,—declares that there is scarcely a house left, outside the towns, in the entire region that formed the theater of the late war, and, further, that the money that England proposes to pay to help the farmers reestablish themselves is only as a drop in the bucket compared with the sums that will be needed. The Boer generals now in Europe regard Mr. Chamberlain's attitude toward the provisions of the peace treaty as narrow and ungenerous, and Lord Milner's extreme unpopularity in South Africa adds to the difficulties of a bad situation. The mine-owners at Johannesburg are strongly opposing the British plans for making them assume a great part of the financial burdens of the war. Thus, the last state of the Uitlanders seems to be worse than the first.

*The
Afrikander
Bond.*

In Cape Colony, the Dutch element holds its political predominance firmly, and it is undoubtedly disposed to protect those more extreme pro-Boers in the colony who gave aid to the enemy in the recent war, and were therefore technically guilty of treason. Mr. Jan Hofmeyr, the famous old-time leader of the Afrikander Bond, as the organization of the Dutch element in Cape Colony is called, has now gone back to South Africa after an absence of more than two years. It was his support that originally lifted Cecil Rhodes into the premiership of Cape Colony, and it was he more than anyone else who aided Mr. Rhodes in making his territorial expansions of the British Empire. The Afrikander Bond is now going to extend its organization to the conquered territories of the South African Republic and the Transvaal. The position that the Bond will take is understood to be (1), a firm demand that in all internal affairs the Dutch in South Africa shall have the same rights and privileges, as regards language, religion, and other institutions, as are enjoyed by the French in Canada, and (2) a demand that in outside relations they be given the same freedom of action for South Africa that is enjoyed by the Dominion of Canada. The Boer generals have been traversing the Continent of Europe amidst many demonstrations of friendliness, but they have been disappointed in their hope of large gifts of money in aid of the impoverished South African farmers. It is said that they are now sorry they did not visit the United States before touring in Germany and France.

*Affairs
in Germany.*

On October 16, the German Reichstag resumed again the discussion of the long-pending tariff bill. The speech of Chancellor von Bülow was regarded by the extreme advocates of the new protective programme as destroying all chances of its success. All appearances were that the measure would be defeated by a large majority, the Socialists and Radicals being against it because it is too favorable to the landed interests, while the Centrists and Conservatives are against it because they do not think it favorable enough to German agriculture. Dr. Andrew D. White is to complete his term of service as ambassador to Germany upon reaching his seventieth birthday early this month, and the appointment of Mr. Charlemagne Tower, who goes from St. Petersburg to Berlin, is said to be regarded with favor by the Germans. The failure of the German Emperor to receive the Boer generals was a much-advertised incident last month that had no real importance. Industrial questions in Germany, as in all other great countries, are upper-

most just now, and capitalistic combinations similar to those in the United States are in that country, as in England, quite the order of the day.

*Affairs
in France.*

It is interesting to turn from the strenuous attempts of Premier Balfour and the British party in power to hand over the common schools of their country to ecclesiastical control, to the equally strenuous attempts of Premier Combes and the French party in power to rescue elementary education in France from the undue control of religious associations. The French premier stands firm as a rock, and up to date he has the backing of a strong majority in the Chamber of Deputies. In the past three or four months some 2,500 schools taught by members of the religious orders have been closed. This school question had to divide attention in France last month with industrial difficulties, particularly with an extensive strike, which seems to have been due in some part to those disturbances of the whole world's fuel market that resulted from the great American coal famine and the demand in the United States for foreign coal. The French strike was by no means complete, and it did not promise to be of long duration as these pages were closed for the press. The death of Emile Zola was another topic that absorbed French attention for a few days. There is nothing striking or new in the foreign relations of France, but the past month has brought renewed evidences of the pacific intentions of the present French ministry, and of

its determination to abandon completely the idea that France is to attack Germany upon the first favorable occasion

*The Situation
in Turkey.*

There is always smoke rising from the smouldering fires of political discontent in Macedonia and other parts of the Turkish Empire, but in the past few weeks the smoke has been denser than usual, and the apprehension that the flames might burst forth has been serious and widespread. The news from the Macedonian hills has not been very definite, but it is known that there was last month something like an organized uprising on foot, and that the movement of Turkish troops to suppress it was heavy. The diplomatic world was agog last month, furthermore, over reports that Russia was taking advantage of Turkey's difficulties to secure a renewal of those old-time arrangements which insured the freedom of the Dardanelles to Russia's ships and made the Black Sea a Russian lake. Next month is likely to have brought forth some more definite news from these troubled regions. Austria-Hungary is watching this situation very intently. The Hungarians, by the way, have been celebrating the centenary of the birth of Kossuth.

*A Convention
on Labor
and Capital.*

One of the engagements that President Roosevelt was unable to keep, by reason of the accident already described, was at Minneapolis, where he was scheduled to make an address at a national convention of employers and employees held from September 23 to 25. This turned out to be a very instructive three-days' conference on the relations of labor and capital to one another and to the public, and it was participated in by a number of prominent employers, several labor leaders well qualified to speak, and statistical and economic authorities like Mr. Carroll D. Wright, Prof. John B. Clark, of Columbia University, and numerous others. It was a timely congress; and, to judge from the newspaper reports, its discussions must have been unusually valuable. At this time of aroused interest in all phases of the labor question, it would be a good thing if a full report containing the princi-



CELEBRATING THE KOSSUTH CENTENARY IN BUDAPEST, HUNGARY.

pal papers and speeches could be printed in popular form and widely distributed. The discussions contained many references to the pending coal strike in Pennsylvania, and the experience of various states and countries was drawn upon. Colonel Wright's opening paper was a noteworthy address by a man who seems to have had many titles to prominence in these past few weeks, and of whom we are glad to publish an appreciative character-sketch elsewhere in this number of *THE REVIEW*. Colonel Wright's preliminary investigation of the anthracite situation appeared last month as an important brochure in the publications of the Bureau of Labor at Washington. In the conferences which led finally to arbitration, Colonel Wright's counsels were regarded as invaluable by the President. He was made recorder of the arbitrating tribunal, and will doubtless have a large part in directing its work and shaping its conclusions; he was also, last month, installed as president of the new collegiate department of Clark University at Worcester. A paper of profound worth at this Minneapolis conference was presented by Prof. John B. Clark, who discussed the question, "Is Compulsory Arbitration Inevitable?"

*Some
University
Occasions.*

The place that our universities and higher institutions of learning hold in American life and society was freshly illustrated last month by the great attention paid to the inauguration of new presidents in several important institutions. The notable gatherings of educational leaders and public men that marked, early in the year, the inauguration of President Remsen at the Johns Hopkins, and President Butler at Columbia, were recalled by the assemblage at Princeton on October 25 to witness the formal induction of President Woodrow Wilson into his new office. Of President Wilson's career hitherto as historian, man of letters, publicist, orator, and educationist, Mr. Robert Bridges wrote in this magazine several months ago. Princeton's great part in the nation's past is only an earnest of its future influence and usefulness. It is pleasant to note that President Patton,—who remains at Princeton, holding a university professorship in his favorite field of study,—has also accepted the presidency of the famous Princeton Theological Seminary. President Edmund J. James, of Northwestern University,—which has a beautiful location on the shores of Lake Michigan, at Evanston, just north of Chicago,—had been installed on October 21, after two or three gala days, whose brilliant programmes were participated in by a number of distinguished educators. These university occasions have, of late, become veritable love-

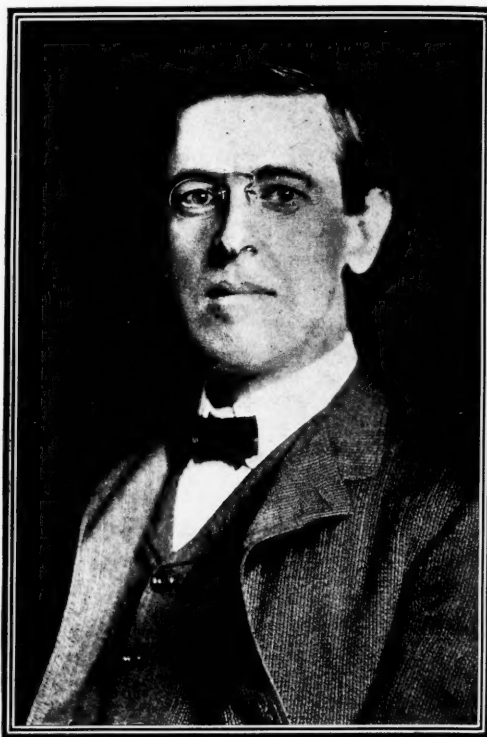


Photo by Pirie MacDonald, New York.

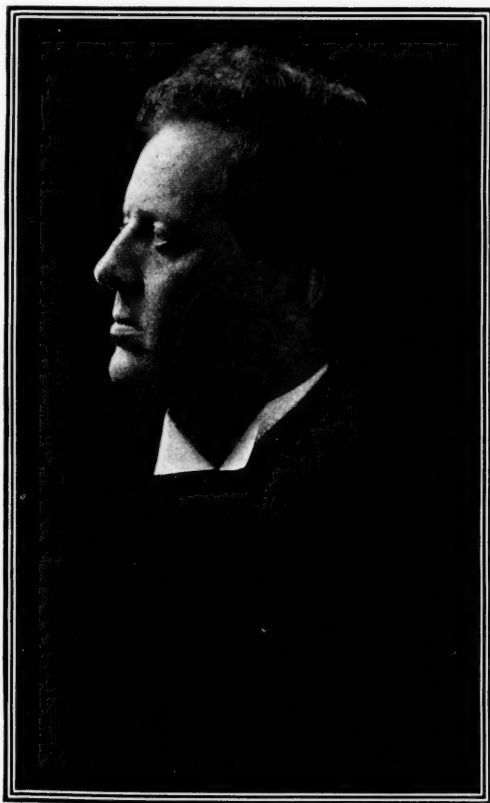
PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON OF PRINCETON.

feasts in their showing forth of the spirit of mutual good-will and coöperation that now marks our American university and college life. The old superciliousness of Eastern institutions toward "fresh-water colleges," so called, has totally disappeared,—at least, in so far as the real leaders are concerned. Never before have our colleges and universities so faithfully represented the best ideals of American life; and never before have they been so zealous and so intelligent in their efforts to adapt themselves to the best service of the whole people. Dr. James is a thorough master of educational science and of the art of administration; and he has in his new work the hearty sympathy and support of President Harper, and the authorities of the neighboring University of Chicago. The Northwestern is now more than fifty years old, and it has collegiate and professional students to the number of about 2,500,—about one-quarter of these being students in the collegiate department at Evanston. Its professional schools occupy a large building in the heart of Chicago, and they have important rank among institutions of their respective kinds. The Northwestern has been under the especial auspices of

the Methodists, just as the University of Chicago has had the special support and protection of the Baptists. In neither case do these denominational distinctions limit, in any appreciable way, either professors or students in the university life and work. On October 16 Kansas celebrated the installation of the new president of its university with due ceremony, and the occasion was one of great popular interest in the West. President Hadley, of Yale, delivered an important address. The new president is Dr. Frank Strong, who has for some time been president of the University of Oregon, and who is regarded as one of the best trained and most successful of the younger college administrators. Like all members of the group of Western State universities, this institution at Lawrence, Kan., is making excellent progress.

At Worcester, Mass., there has been opened a new collegiate department of Clark University. President G. Stanley Hall continues as president of this uni-

*The Shorter
College
Course.*



PRESIDENT JAMES, OF NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY.

versity, which in its short career has made such noteworthy original contributions to philosophy and science; but a separate president was desired as head of the new affiliated undergraduate school. Of this collegiate department Col. Carroll D. Wright was installed as president last



PRESIDENT STRONG, OF KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY.

month. Although so long at Washington as Commissioner of Labor, Colonel Wright is a Massachusetts man, and his new duties will be congenial. Senator Hoar is chairman of the board of trustees of Clark University, and he and Senator Lodge, both of whom are especially felicitous on academic occasions, participated in the exercises. The Clark College, which opens with a large freshman class, has adopted the three-year course, with the group system which has proved so satisfactory in the undergraduate department of the Johns Hopkins University. President Butler, in his first annual report to the trustees of Columbia University last month, presented weighty reasons for providing a two years' college course. This question is one of such vital interest to all colleges and to the country at large that we have asked President Butler a series of questions which he has been good enough to answer explicitly and frankly, and his discussion will be found printed elsewhere in this number of the REVIEW. It would seem likely to arouse a thorough discussion, and to stimulate some needful reforms.

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS.

(From September 21 to October 20, 1902.)

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—AMERICAN.

September 24.—The Montana Democratic convention is controlled by United States Senator Clark....New York Republicans renominate Governor Odell.

September 25.—Connecticut Democrats nominate Melbert B. Cary for governor....Republicans of the Third Iowa District nominate Judge B. P. Birdsall for Congress, to succeed Speaker Henderson, who declined a re-nomination.

September 27.—Montana Republicans declare for Roosevelt for President in 1904....Gen. Russell A. Alger is appointed United States Senator by Governor Bliss, of Michigan.

September 30.—The Michigan Democratic State Central Committee names L. T. Durand as the party's candidate for governor, in place of Judge George H. Durand, his brother, who finds it necessary to withdraw on account of ill-health.

October 1.—Joseph M. Terrell (Dem.) is elected governor of Georgia by a light vote....The Vermont Legislature elects Gen. J. G. McCullough governor by a majority of 60 votes....New York Democrats nominate Bird S. Coler for governor on a platform declaring for government ownership of the anthracite coal mines....Rhode Island Democrats nominate Dr. L. F. C. Garvin for governor.

October 3.—Massachusetts Republicans nominate John L. Bates for governor.

October 9.—Rhode Island Republicans renominate Gov. Charles D. Kimball, and declare for President Roosevelt's nomination in 1904.

October 14.—The Vermont Legislature reelects United States Senator W. P. Dillingham.

October 18.—President Roosevelt issues an order warning Federal officeholders that the law forbidding political assessments must be obeyed.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN.

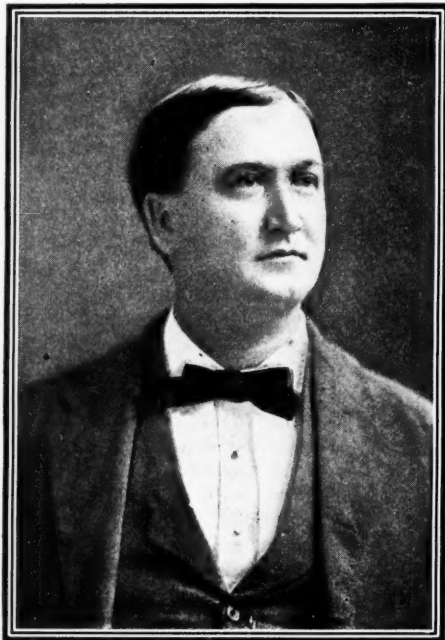
September 25.—The Earl of Dudley, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, makes his formal entry into Dublin....The French Ministry of Finance reports on French investments abroad, which amount to \$6,000,000,000.

September 29.—The Cuban budget is announced as aggregating \$14,000,000.

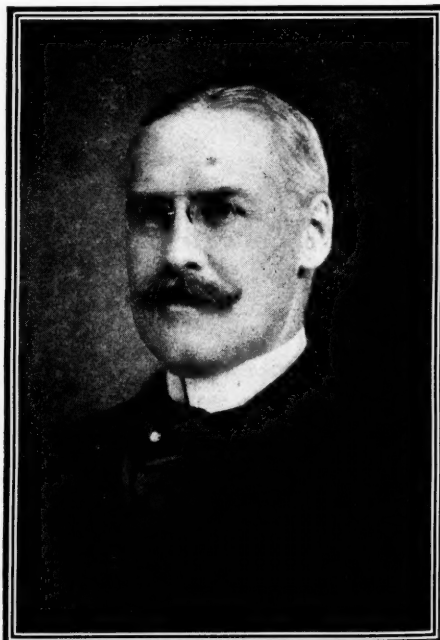
October 8.—A general insurrection is reported in Macedonia.

October 9.—Joseph Chamberlain, British Colonial Secretary, addressing the Liberal Unionists of Birmingham, declares that if the present ministry is defeated on the Education bill it will resign office....The new Japanese loan is heavily over-subscribed.

October 14.—John O'Donnell, Nationalist member of



GOV. JEFFERSON DAVIS, OF ARKANSAS.
(Re-elected on September 1, 1902.)



GOV. JOHN F. HILL, OF MAINE.
(Re-elected on September 8, 1902.)

Parliament for County Mayo, Ireland, convicted of intimidation and inciting to boycotting, is sentenced by the Crimes Act Court to three months' imprisonment at hard labor, and to an additional three months in default of bail for good behavior.

October 16.—The British Parliament reassembles; John O'Donnell is suspended from membership in the House of Commons for an insult to the prime minister.

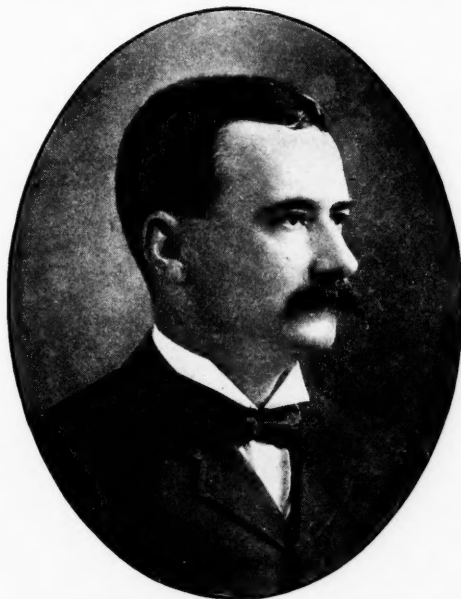
October 17.—The French ministry is sustained in the Chamber of Deputies, on the question of the enforcement of the Associations law, by a vote of 529 to 233.

October 18.—After a week of fierce fighting, the Venezuelan revolutionist, General Mendoza, is reported to have retreated, leaving 3,000 killed and wounded.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

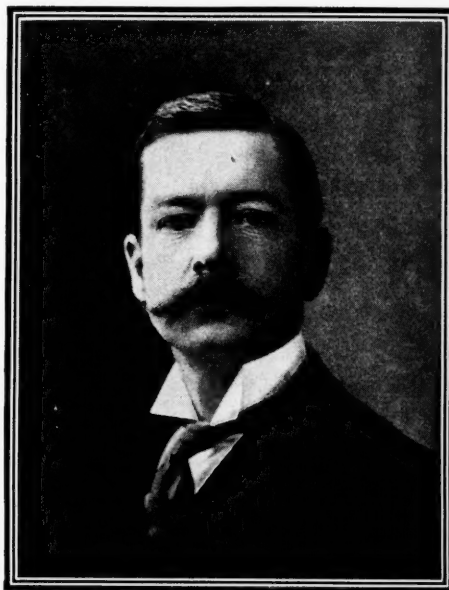
September 22.—President Palma, of the Cuban Republic, requests the United States to withdraw the artillery companies now stationed on the island.

September 24.—By the display of the American flag, a Venezuelan gunboat is enabled to approach and bombard Ciudad Bolivar; United States Minister Bowen exacts an apology from the Venezuelan Government.



HON. D. C. HEYWARD, OF SOUTH CAROLINA.
(Democratic nominee for governor.)

September 26.—It is announced that ambassador Charlemagne Tower, now at St. Petersburg, has been chosen to succeed Dr. Andrew D. White as American Ambassador to Germany; Ambassador McCormick, now at Vienna, is appointed ambassador to Russia; Minister Stover, now at Madrid, is appointed ambassador to Austria-Hungary; Arthur S. Hardy, now minister to Switzerland, is transferred to Spain; and Charles Page Bryan, minister to Brazil, becomes minister to Switzerland, while David E. Thomson, of Nebraska, succeeds him at Rio de Janeiro.



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COL. WILLIAM A. GASTON, OF MASSACHUSETTS.
(Democratic candidate for governor.)

September 27.—The ambassadors at Constantinople nominate Mugafer Pasha as governor of Lebanon.

September 28.—A battle between Turkish troops and Bulgarians near Salonica, in European Turkey, is reported.

September 29.—Russia restores the Peking-Shan-hai-kwan Railway to the Chinese Government.

October 1.—The "Pious Fund" argument before The Hague Tribunal is closed....Greece protests to Turkey against the murders of Greek notables by Bulgarians in Macedonia.

October 4.—The Central American Court of Compulsory Arbitration is instituted at San Jose, Costa Rica; Guatemala declines to participate.

October 7.—It is announced that a convention between France and Siam, on the disputed boundary question, has been signed.

October 8.—In accordance with the agreement between Russia and China, the Manchurian territory lying south of the Liau River is restored to China.

October 10.—The Colombian Government makes a formal protest against Admiral Casey's refusal to permit the transit of soldiers across the Isthmus of Panama.

October 13.—Sir Michael Herbert, the new British ambassador to the United States, presents his credentials at Washington.

October 14.—The Hague Tribunal decides in favor of the United States as against Mexico in the "Pious Fund" case....Henry L. Wilson, United States minister to Chile, is appointed minister to Greece to succeed Charles S. Francis, resigned; John B. Jackson is made minister to Chile.

October 15.—Massacres of Christians in Macedonia by Turkish troops are reported.

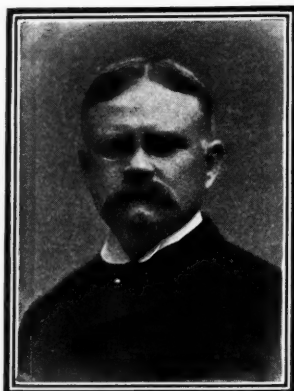
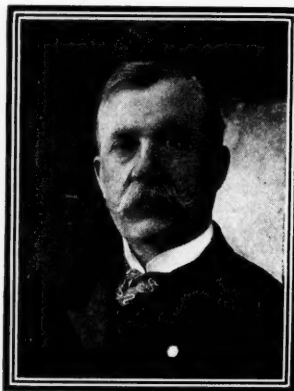


Photo by A. Dupont.

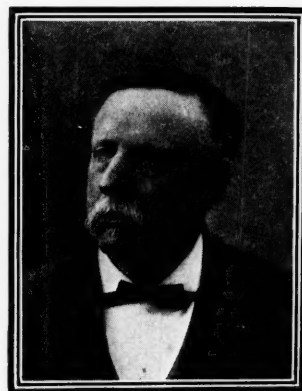
MR. JOHN MARKLE.

(Independent coal operator, prominent in connection with the anthracite strike.)



GEN. THOMAS J. STEWART.

(The new commander-in-chief of the G. A. R., elected at the Washington Encampment in October.)



GEN. J. P. S. GOBIN.

(In command of the Pennsylvania troops ordered out during the coal strike.)

LABOR DISTURBANCES.

September 22.—The sheriff of Lackawanna County, Penn., calls on Governor Stone for troops to subdue rioting among the coal strikers.

September 23.—Troops are ordered to Lebanon, Penn., to put down rioting among iron and steel workers on strike there.

September 24.—More troops are ordered out in the Pennsylvania anthracite district.

September 28.—New Orleans street-car men, 1,800 in number, strike for shorter hours and higher wages—an eight-hour day at twenty-five cents an hour....President Mitchell, of the United Mine Workers of America, issues a statement discussing the anthracite miners' condition and pay, and repeating their demands.

October 3.—A conference is held at Washington between President Roosevelt, the anthracite mine operators, and representatives of the miners; no agreement is reached (see page 552).

October 6.—The entire division of the National Guard of Pennsylvania is ordered to the anthracite region.... At Geneva, Switzerland, troops are called out to restore order among the striking street-car employees.... Twenty-five thousand men quit work in the coal fields of France.

October 7.—President Roosevelt appeals to the striking coal miners to resume work, promising to name a commission to investigate their condition....The British Miners' Federation votes to send money to the coal strikers in the United States.

October 8.—The United Mine Workers decline President Roosevelt's proposition to resume work pending action by Congress....The French miners declare a general strike.

October 9.—The Swiss Workmen's National Committee proclaims a general strike.

October 10.—Conferences between political leaders and the coal operators end in failure.

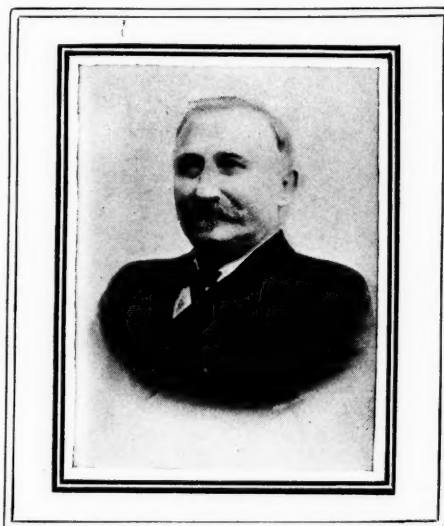
October 11.—The American Federation of Labor issues an appeal in behalf of the striking coal miners; Secre-

tary Root, representing President Roosevelt, confers with J. Pierpont Morgan on the coal strike.

October 12.—The New Orleans street-car strike is ended by mutual concessions....The street-car employees at Geneva, Switzerland, return to work....Miners in the Belgian coal fields demand an increase in wages.

October 13.—As a result of conferences on the coal-strike situation between President Roosevelt and J. P. Morgan, it is announced that the coal operators have asked the President to appoint a commission to decide the matters at issue in the anthracite region.

October 15.—After conferences with President Mitchell of the United Mine Workers and with representa-



PROFESSOR MATZEN.

(President of the Hague Tribunal, which decided in favor of the United States in the "Pious Fund" case.)

tives of the coal operators, President Roosevelt appoints as a commission to investigate and settle the questions involved in the strike, Gen. John M. Wilson, U.S.A.; the Hon. George Gray, of Delaware; Edward Parker, of the Geological Survey; Thomas H. Watkins, of Scranton, Penn.; Bishop Spalding, of Peoria, Ill.; and Edgar E. Clark, of the Order of Railway Conductors. Col. Carroll D. Wright, head of the Department of Labor, is designated as recorder of the commission.

October 16.—President Mitchell issues a call for a delegate convention of the United Mine Workers, to vote on the proposition to return to work at once and accept the arbitration of President Roosevelt's commission.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH.

September 23.—Owing to an abscess on his leg, resulting from the recent trolley accident at Pittsfield, Mass., President Roosevelt is compelled to abandon his trip to the Northwest and to submit to a slight surgical operation; he returns to Washington.

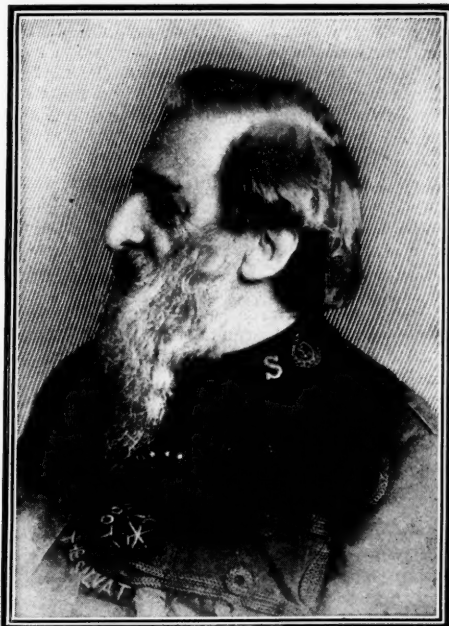
September 25.—As a means of relieving the money market, Secretary Shaw offers to anticipate payment of interest on government bonds up to June 30, 1903.



THE CROWN PRINCE OF SIAM.
(Now visiting the United States.)

September 26.—A severe cyclone in Sicily destroys more than 500 lives and does much damage to property.It is announced that 60 per cent. of the spinning and weaving mills in the South have been consolidated; the cash capital involved is \$25,000,000....As a further measure of relief for the money market, Secretary Shaw announces that he will purchase 5 per cent. bonds of 1904 at 105.

September 27.—In a train wreck at Arleux, France, 23 persons are killed and 60 injured....A Russian military celebration takes place at Shipka Pass in memory of the independence of Bulgaria....American and British tobacco interests are amalgamated in a joint company under the name of the British-American Tobacco Company, Ltd.



GEN. WILLIAM BOOTH.
(Father of the Salvation Army. Now in the United States investigating Salvation Army work.)

September 29.—Porto Rican public schools are opened with an attendance of 55,000 pupils.

October 1.—An international ship combination is completed, the International Navigation Company, changing its name to the International Mercantile Marine Company, with Clement A. Griscom as its president, and increasing its capital to \$120,000,000.



MEMORIAL CHURCH ON THE BATTLEFIELD OF SHIPKA PASS, BULGARIA.

(This church was dedicated during the fêtes held in the first week of October to commemorate the winning of the independence of Bulgaria by Skobelev in 1877.)

October 5.—The body of Emile Zola is buried at Paris, with impressive ceremonies....Capt. John J. Pershing's column completes a successful campaign against the Moros, in the island of Mindanao, P. I., having killed or wounded a hundred of them and captured or destroyed 140 forts; the Sultan of Cagugatan is among the dead.

October 6.—The Canadian-Australian cable is reported laid from Vancouver to Fanning Island, a distance of 3,455 nautical miles.

October 9.—At the national encampment of the G. A. R., at Washington, D. C., Gen. Thomas J. Stewart is elected commander-in-chief....The Nebraska Supreme Court decides that the reading of the Bible, supplication to the Deity, and singing of sacred songs in the public schools are prohibited by the State constitution....Col. Carroll D. Wright is inaugurated as president of Clark College, the undergraduate department of Clark University, at Worcester, Mass. (See page 548).

October 12.—The Sultan of Bacolod, of Mindanao, P. I., rejects the friendly offers of Commander Sumner, of the American forces.

October 16.—The corner stone of a memorial to the missionary victims of the Boxer uprising in China is laid at Oberlin, Ohio, under the auspices of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

October 17.—Secretary Shaw authorizes the purchase by the Treasury Department of 4 per cent. bonds of 1925 at 137½ and interest....Dr. Frank Strong is inaugurated as chancellor of the University of Kansas.

OBITUARY.

September 22.—Prof. Christopher Ernest Luthardt, a noted orthodox theologian, of Germany, 80.

September 23.—Major J. W. Powell, the eminent naturalist, 68.

September 24.—Senhor Silvano Drandao, Vice-President of Brazil.

September 25.—Capt. Lamont G. Burnham, a well-known Boston merchant, 58....Isaac A. Singer, of the Singer Manufacturing Company, 65....Justice A. H. Ellis, of the Kansas Supreme Court....Rev. Dr. George A. Archibald, of Covington, Ky.

September 26.—John Latey, the London editor, 60....Count Giuseppe Dassi, one of the most prominent Italians in the United States, 80....Mrs. C. A. Pillsbury, of Minneapolis, 67.

September 27.—Gen. Francis J. Lippitt, a lawyer and

a veteran of the Mexican and Civil wars, 90....Sidney L. Willson, United States pension agent at Washington.

September 29.—General von Gossler, formerly Prussian Minister of War, 62....Emile Zola, the French novelist, 62.

October 1.—Rear-Admiral James E. Jouett, U.S.N., retired, 74....Dr. John Byrne, the eminent gynecologist, 77.

October 2.—Frank Jones, ex-Congressman from New Hampshire, 70.

October 3.—General Bela M. Hughes, a noted character in the early history of the West, 86....Ex-Judge Mason B. Loomis, a well-known jurist of Chicago, 67.

October 4.—Zebulon Stiles Ely, a New York philanthropist, 83.

October 6.—Canon George Rawlinson, of Canterbury, England, 90....Dr. Abel M. Phelps, of New York, an orthopedic specialist, 51.

October 7.—Ex-Congressman William Wallace Grout, of Vermont, 66.

October 8.—John Hall Gladstone, the English scientist, 75....Brig.-Gen. Hugh H. Abernethy, of Jersey City, N. J., 60.

October 12.—Frederick A. Keener, a prominent citizen of Denver, 75.

October 13.—Major John F. O'Brien, a well-known business man of Louisville and a Confederate veteran, 62....Dr. Elvira Ranier, of Oswego, N. Y., a prominent New York woman physician, 55....Dr. William Riddick Whitehead, of Denver, Col., a distinguished physician and medical author, 70.

October 14.—Sir John George Bourinot, clerk of the Canadian House of Commons, 75.

October 15.—The Very Rev. Monsignor Connolly, of St. John, N. B., 80....John A. Dillon, leading editorial writer of the New York *Evening World*, 59....Rear-Admiral Thomas O. Selfridge, Sr., U.S.N., retired, 98....Lieut.-Col. Charles Porter, U.S.A., retired, 64.

October 16.—The Rev. Frederick Munson, a retired Congregational clergyman of Brooklyn, N. Y., 85....Col. Charles Anthony, of Springfield, Ohio, a veteran of the Civil War....Charles Henry Ham, of Montclair, N. J., formerly editorial writer and appraiser in Chicago, 71.

October 17.—Joseph A. Dean, of New York, one of the pioneers in the linseed oil business, 82.

October 18.—Prof. James A. Mitchell, of the faculty of St. Mary's College, Maryland, 48.



THE LATE QUEEN HENRIETTA OF BELGIUM.

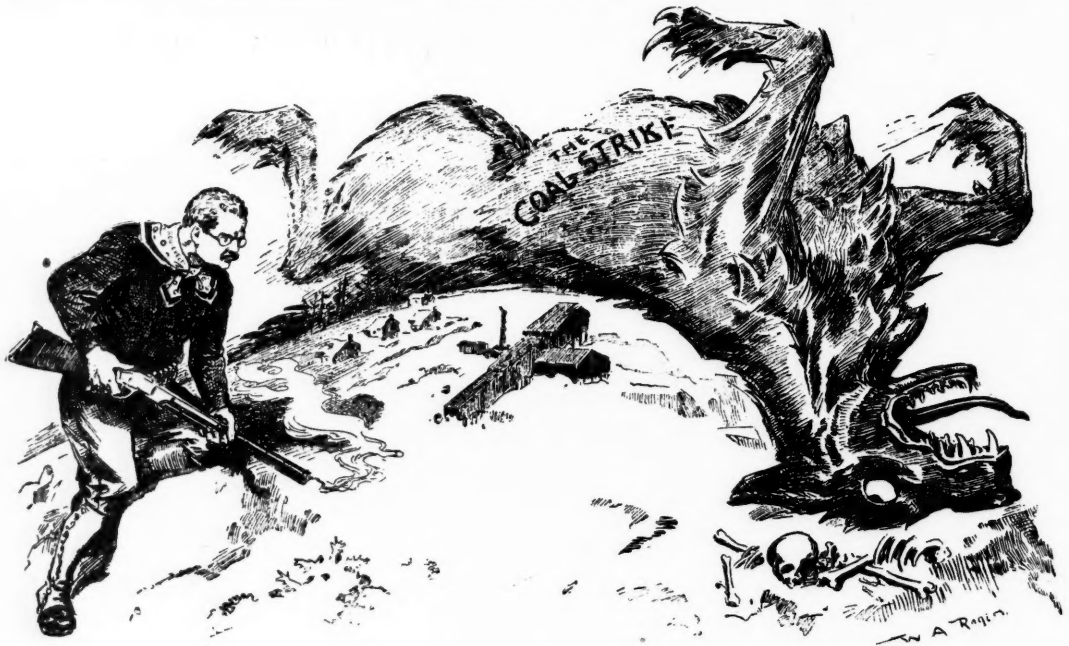
CARTOON COMMENTS ON THE COAL STRIKE AND ITS SETTLEMENT.



ONLY COMMON SENSE IS NECESSARY.—From the *World* (New York).

THE cartoonists of the country were at their best last month when the coal strike, in its various phases, was the one topic that absorbed public attention. No possible selection of a dozen or a score of these drawings can convey much idea of the variety and the cleverness displayed in the work of twenty-five or thirty caricaturists, each one of whom drew enough coal-strike cartoons to fill up our entire department. While the cartoonists almost invariably favored arbitration of the dispute, and represented in the main the rights of the

public rather than those of either of the contesting parties, their sympathies were overwhelmingly with the strikers as against the operators. Yet, on the other hand, the greater part of their work showed good temper. Their admonitions to the coal-road presidents were not meant to be offensive or to leave any permanent sting. Mr. Bush, in the cartoon on this page, expresses the general sentiment respecting the desirability of arbitration from all points of view. This picture, we hope, symbolizes future harmony in the coal regions.



ROOSEVELT'S BIGGEST GAME.—From the *Herald* (New York).

President Roosevelt was fortunate enough to receive the approval, so far as we are aware, of every one of the newspaper cartoonists of the country regardless of party affiliations. His intervention in the coal strike came in the midst of a season of political campaigning; and it would have been easy for an ungenerous opposition to

ascribe political motives to the President. But Republican, Democratic, and independent newspapers alike have praised his course as manly, sincere, and wholly to the public interest, while miners and operators throughout were expressing themselves to that same effect, when agreed upon nothing else.



A POWERFUL MAGNET.
From the *Leader* (Cleveland).



THE NATION ENDORSES PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S COURSE.
From the *Times* (Minneapolis).



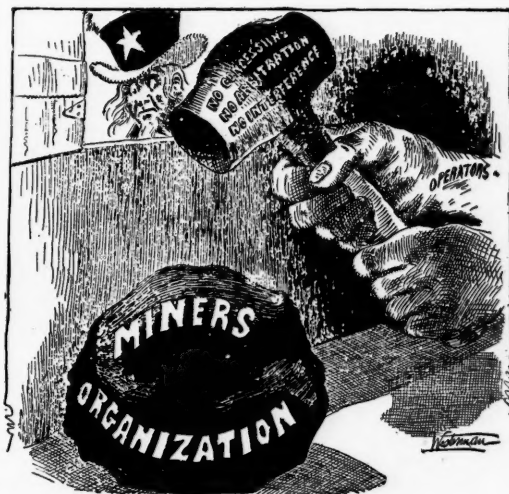
WHAT WILL HE ANSWER?
 "Please, can't I have some coal?"
 From the *Evening Journal* (New York).



"WHO IS THIS MAN, MAMMA? IS THIS LIEUTENANT PEARY IN THE FROZEN NORTH?"
 "No, Honey; THIS IS DEAR OLD UNCLE SAM, WHO HAS MONEY TO BURN, BUT NO COAL."
 From the *Inquirer* (Philadelphia).



A CHANGE MADE.—From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn, N. Y.).



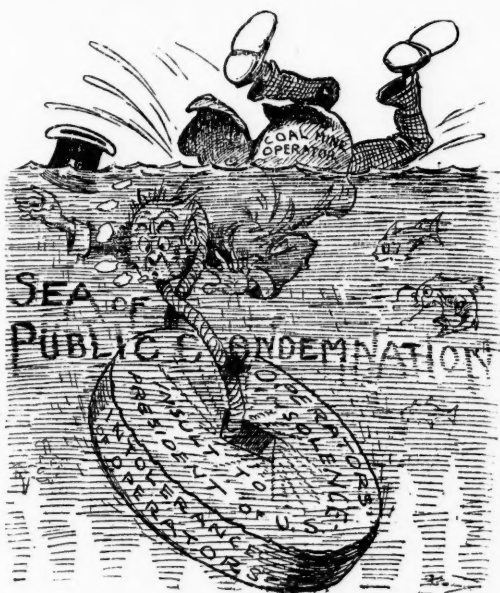
THE REAL OBJECT OF THE OPERATORS IS TO CRUSH IT.
 From the *Ohio State Journal* (Columbus).



A BURNING QUESTION.—From the *Plain Dealer* (Cleveland).



UNCLE SAM: "I wonder how much longer that fellow can stand it!"—From the *Journal* (Detroit).



A MILLSTONE ABOUT HIS NECK.
If he sinks, he can thank himself.
From the *Times* (Minneapolis).



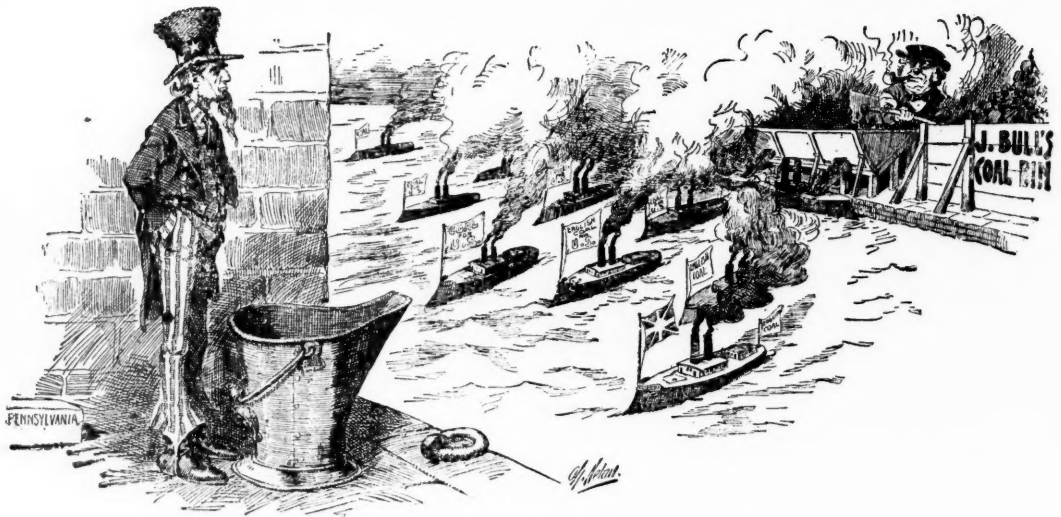
THE BIG BOY THINKS HE CAN THROW HIS DAD.
From the *Times* (Denver).



THE WASHINGTON SCHOOLMASTER.
From the *Chronicle* (Chicago).

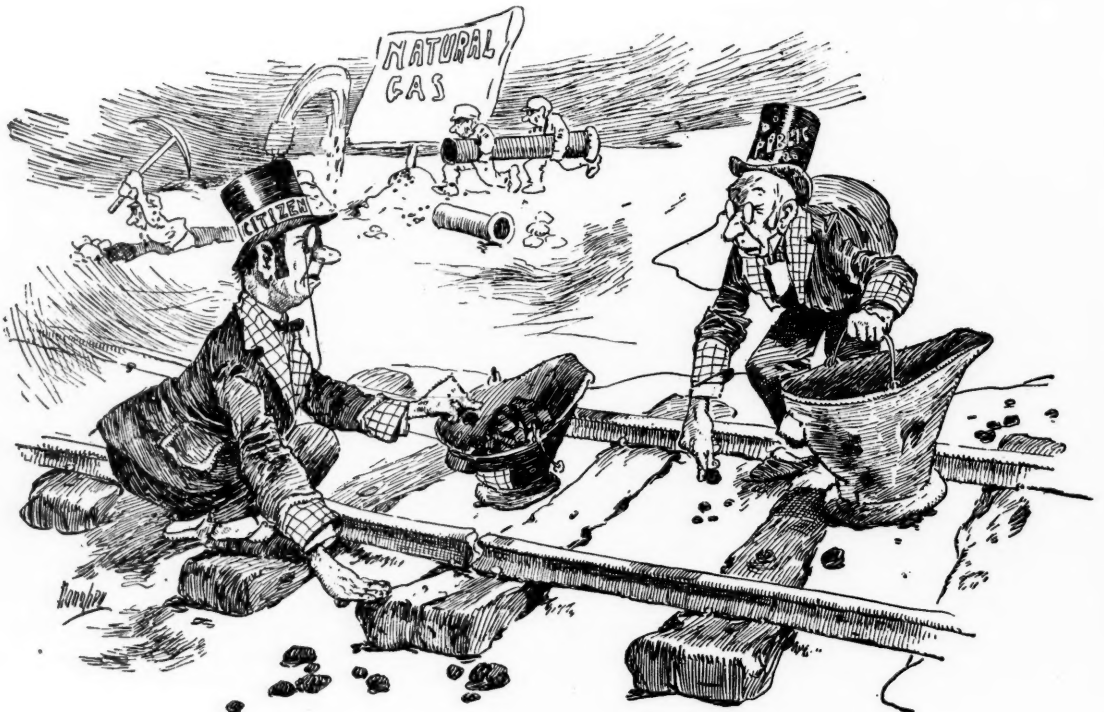


"HURRY UP AND TAKE THE SMALLER ONE, MR. BAER!"
From the *Record-Herald* (Chicago).



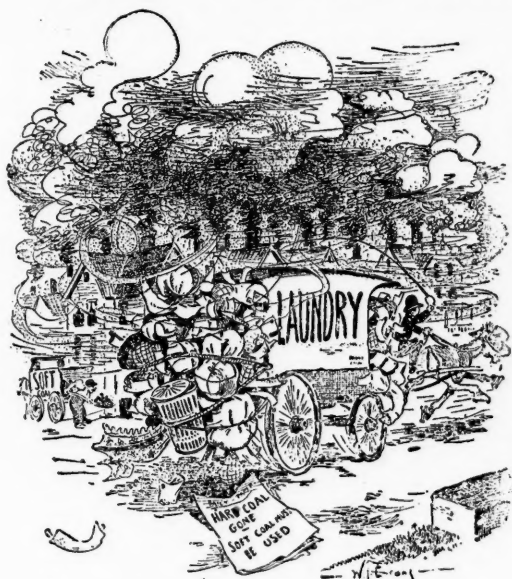
"CARRYING COALS TO NEWCASTLE."—From the *North American* (Philadelphia).

(Appropos of the order by the magnates of the new shipping trust to buy 50,000 tons of coal in England, said to have been for the benefit of the poor of New York.)



"WHY, I CAN REMEMBER WHEN THEY SOLD COAL AT SIX DOLLARS A TON!"

"WHAT! AND DID THEY DELIVER IT, TOO?"—From the *Plain Dealer* (Cleveland).



"IT'S AN ILL WIND THAT BLOWS NOBODY GOOD."

From the *Leader* (Cleveland).



PUZZLE PICTURE:—FIND THE SUBJECT OF UNCLE SAM NOT INTERESTED IN THE COAL STRIKE.

From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).



THE FARMER OF 1902: "I DON'T SEE NOTHIN' TO GRUMBLE AT!"—From the *Plain Dealer* (Cleveland).

CARROLL D. WRIGHT: A CHARACTER SKETCH.

BY H. T. NEWCOMB.

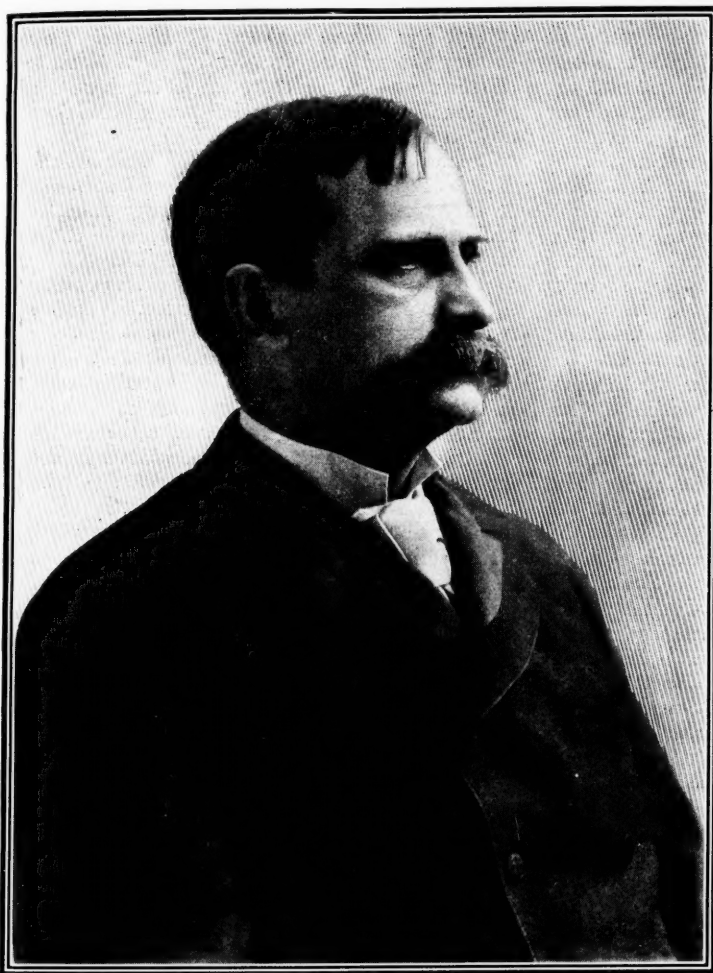
EIGHTEEN years ago a President—whose administration, according to the already registered decree of the electorate, was soon to be succeeded by one dominated by political principles radically different from those to which he adhered,—was confronted by the perplexing necessity of choosing an officer who should organize and direct a newly-created bureau that was manifestly sure to impress profoundly and permanently, the social ideals of the American people and the political policies of the United States. There was one man whose temperament and training especially equipped him for the position, and his previous public services conspicuously pointed to his preëminent fitness; but he was an earnest Republican; he had advocated the policies of his party on the stump, and had even been a prominent member of the national convention which had nominated the lately defeated candidate, James G. Blaine.

Thus although Colonel Wright—who had then served for twelve brilliantly successful years as chief of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, the first bureau of the kind created in the world and the model for all that have followed,—was unmistakably the man best qualified to serve as the first federal Commissioner of Labor, it seemed scarcely proper to deprive his State of his services in order that he might hold for but two or three months a position which, by all the precedents of the "spoils" system, was marked as one that no president could refuse to confer upon some member of his victorious party. But those who took this view neither properly estimated the strength of Colonel Wright's achievements, nor fully realized the clear-sighted probity of the Democratic President-elect. No sooner was Mr. Cleveland aware of the nature of General Arthur's perplexities than he caused it to be made known to the latter that if the place were left open until after his inauguration he would at once appoint the Massachusetts Republican—Colonel Wright. This, however, was not the first time that confidence in the integrity and unprejudiced breadth of view of Colonel Wright had overcome the scruples of partisanship; for two Democratic governors of Massachusetts, William Gaston in 1875 and Benjamin F. Butler in 1883, had denied the ambitions of their own political followers, including men prominent as

leaders of the labor movement, in order to retain his services as the head of the State bureau.

Carroll Davidson Wright occupies positions which are unmistakably unique in the fields of public education; in the official circles of the capital; in the labor movement; in the modern trend of religious progress; and in the intellectual life of the nation. Although he was denied opportunity to enter college by ill-health, which followed his preparatory work and is, therefore, without university training, he has been for twenty years in great demand as a university lecturer. He is now president of Clark College, the collegiate department of Clark University, of the Manassas Industrial School for Colored Youth, and of the Hackley School at Tarrytown, N. Y. He is a trustee of the richly-endowed Carnegie Institution, and a member of its executive committee of seven; professor of statistics and social economics in Columbian University; and honorary professor in the Catholic University of America; while he has, at different times, delivered courses of lectures at Harvard, Johns Hopkins, Michigan, Northwestern, and Brown universities, and at Dartmouth College. At Washington, Colonel Wright has long been recognized as dean of the large corps of able and industrious workers in the fields of sociology, economics, and statistics.

One phase of Colonel Wright's relation to the labor movement has been expressed very clearly during the course of the President's efforts to save the public from the disaster of a failure of the anthracite supply. The daily press has not failed to make plain the fact that his advice and aid have been sought at every stage. A report was wanted concerning the causes of the controversy and its accompanying conditions; Colonel Wright was requested to make it, and, twelve days later, it was in the President's possession. A proposal of great importance and extreme delicacy was to be made to President Mitchell; Colonel Wright was obviously the most suitable intermediary. A conference between the leaders of both sides and the President was arranged; Colonel Wright sat at the right hand of his chief while it was in progress, and remained last, of all those present, to consider the outcome with him. A commission to settle the controversy is called into being under conditions which preclude Colonel Wright's



COL. CARROLL D. WRIGHT.

designation as a member; but the Presidential will, and the wishes of both parties, unite in demanding that he shall bear to it a relation that involves service, influence, and honor.

In spite of its rapid preparation, the report on the strike is no merely perfunctory and superficial summary, but a logically-arranged, grave, and philosophical statement of the results of well-directed and cautious inquiry. Probably no other man could have completed the inquiry with equal promptness or success. Colonel Wright approached it with the entire confidence both of the leaders of the strike and of the officers of the corporations concerned,—a confidence which recognized not only the integrity of his purposes, but his possession of the

still rarer qualities of freedom from prejudice; of profound discretion; of readiness to seek ideals step-by-step through paths of practicability; of sympathetic perception; and of broad humanity. Such confidence he has long enjoyed, and it has brought him the personal friendship alike of the principal labor leaders and of many capitalists and real captains of industry. As the head of the Labor Department, Colonel Wright is bound by an obligation to hold the scales evenly between both parties to wage contracts. He is the partisan of neither side; although his sympathies, in the continuous struggle of labor for a higher standard of living, are—with those of every right-minded man,—on the side of the recipients of wages. Yet the warm heart is held in check by a cool head, and, like every sensible man, he realizes that the call that progress makes upon industry must not be greater than it can bear.

In concluding his "Outline of Practical Sociology," Colonel Wright declares his conviction that there is on the way a true religious revival that must profoundly modify the problems

which it has been his life work to study and elucidate. He believes that there can be no real solution of the great and varied questions that confront society, which does not embody and enforce the everlasting principles of mutual obligation that make up real religion. This conclusion is that of a deeply spiritual mind, yet one to which the crudely-supernatural has little meaning or attraction. The son of a Universalist clergyman, Colonel Wright freely admits his admiration for the magnificent organization of the Roman Church, and his appreciation of its strong and elevating influence upon artisans and wage-earners. He has, for many years, been an active teacher in the economic department of the great Catholic University at Washington. His church

relations are, however, with the Unitarian denomination, which he served for three years as president of the American Unitarian Association. He is now president of the National Conference of Unitarian and Other Churches. In Washington he has, not infrequently, occupied the pulpit of the church of his denomination.

What has been enumerated expresses but a part of Colonel Wright's relation to the intellectual life of America; to relate all, would be to tell the complete story of public activities that began at an unusually early age and have been prosecuted with especial vigor. He is, unquestionably, the foremost living statistician; and, although he disclaims any title to rank as an economist, there is no American whose work in that field entitles him to a higher place. As a student of practical sociology, the magnitude and scope of his contributions to human knowledge are unequalled. He succeeded the late Gen. Francis A. Walker as president of the American Statistical Association, of which he had long been a most influential member; he is a leading member of the American Social Science Association; a vice-president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science; a councilor of the American Economic Association; and a member of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, and of the American Historical Association. He is one of the governors of the Washington Academy of Sciences; and European recognition of his social services has been evidenced by his election as a corresponding member of the Institute of France; an honorary member of the Imperial Academy of Science of Russia; a member of the International Statistical Institute, and of the International Institute of Sociology; and an honorary member of the Royal Statistical Society of Great Britain.

To sociological literature, he has contributed almost fifty volumes of statistical reports of great permanent value; besides supervising the completion of the twenty-five volumes that contain the results of the Eleventh Census. He is the author of a Chautauqua text-book of unusual merit and interest, "The Industrial Evolution of the United States;" and his "Outlines of Practical Sociology,"—a volume of modest dimensions, but containing a graphic and accurate description of American society, and the outlines of a broad system of social philosophy,—is used in most of the great universities. He also directs and acts as the chief editor of the "Bulletin of the Department of Labor," a publication that appears every two months; while the list of his magazine articles includes a large number of titles, a wide range

of social topics, and, substantially, every considerable magazine in the United States. Colonel Wright appears frequently on the lecture platform, and has thus presented the results of his studies to audiences in, practically, every important city in the land.

Colonel Wright is of mixed English-and-Scotch descent, but was born in New Hampshire, on July 25, 1840, of American ancestry that dates back to the year 1640 and includes several soldiers of the Revolution. At the age of eighteen he was a school-teacher; at twenty-two, a private soldier in the New Hampshire Volunteers; and, at twenty-four, the colonel of a regiment in active service in the Civil War. Leaving the military service in 1865, he resumed legal studies which had been begun in 1860; was soon admitted to practice; and, making a specialty of patent law, had by 1875 acquired a practice worth, approximately, \$10,000 a year. He served as a member of the Massachusetts Senate for two terms, during which he secured the passage of the "Massachusetts Standard Policy" law regulating insurance; a measure requiring railways to run cheap morning-and-evening suburban trains for workmen; and another, completely reorganizing the State militia. In 1873 he was made chief of the State Bureau of Statistics of Labor. In 1880 he had direct charge of the Federal census in Massachusetts, and, later, was sent to Europe to study the factory system for the Tenth Census. Although he became the federal Commissioner of Labor in 1885, he continued in charge of the Massachusetts bureau for three years, and directed the State census of 1885. While holding his present position he had charge of the Eleventh Census, from the resignation of Mr. Porter in 1893, to 1897, when it was practically completed and he was relieved of the responsibility at his own request. During the same time, he served as chairman of the special commission of three which investigated the Pullman strike of 1894 in accordance with the subsequently-repealed law of October 1, 1888. This record of achievement is that of one who has not slackened the pace of his endeavor, and is now probably in the most fruitful period of his life.

The official bureau organized and directed by Colonel Wright has been most successful. For special investigations he has been able to enlist, from time to time, the most eminent American students of the particular social relations involved. It numbers among its regular employees men of the highest attainments in its field, not a few of whom have acquired their training through their service there. Its present chief clerk—whose mastery of the technique of statistics is unexcelled,—entered its service

as a youth, and in the lowest rank. The present treasurer of the island of Porto Rico; the chief statistician who directed the population inquiries of the Twelfth Census; the assistant statistician of the United States Department of Agriculture; one of the assistant directors now planning the Philippine census; the president of the City and Suburban Homes Company of New York City; and many other men of distinction who are now performing practical social services of great utility, are "graduates" of the Department of Labor. The best expression of Colonel Wright's qualities as an executive is the high quality of the work accomplished under his supervision, its large volume, and the relatively small expense incurred. He has that chief requisite of a successful modern administrator, ability to delegate work and to avoid wasting his own energy on details. Thus he always has time for whatever really demands his attention.

Colonel Wright's official career under four Republican Presidents, and during eight years of Democratic rule, has not failed to have its occasional difficulties and perplexing situations; it is, however, a characteristic fact that his calm philosophy and unostentatious but persistent self-reliance have enabled him to meet them so unflinchingly and overcome them with so much apparent ease that they have seemed not to exist. The strike of 1894 supplied one of these situations; but he refused to temper his report in any degree, and spoke the truth, as he saw it, with such unflinching clearness and manifest conviction that criticism was speedily baffled, and even those who appeared aggrieved at the outset soon either admitted the validity of his conclusions or wisely withdrew all show of opposition.

Colonel Wright speaks so clearly and so freely that there need be little difficulty in comprehending the direct and simple tenets of his social philosophy. It is one of balanced optimism springing from a reasoned and deeply-rooted trust in the essential beneficence of the all-pervading and unceasing Divine purpose which he perceives, written largely in the history of all ages and all society. He places religion ahead of all other social influences, while asserting that it must progress as men progress, and be refined and spiritualized as the ideals of humanity become more elevated and spiritual. He proclaims, as next in importance, the gospel of individual effort; the doctrine that personal improvement sought and obtained by means consistent with ethical principles must lead to general advancement. His broad eclecticism finds philosophical socialism fraught with an important message to mankind; but he regards it as most valuable, as a criticism which points out

the blemishes in the present system. The latter is to be developed and improved, but it is a result of divinely-appointed evolution and cannot be superseded by any man-made formula. There is no universal remedy; no panacea for social ills; but there is, and must always be, a trend toward improved conditions. These are some of the broader generalizations. Some of his more specific conclusions may be hastily sketched. Labor and capital both have the right to organize, and the former can demand with perfect propriety the privilege of "collective bargaining." For capital to deny this is as absurd as it would be for a labor union to insist on meeting the individual security-holders of a corporation, or the several members of a firm. Labor controversies should be avoided by intelligent bargaining, which implies a better understanding of mutual relations; but if, on account of the weakness of humanity, they occur, their settlement should be sought by conciliation or mediation. This implies that employees and employers shall meet face-to-face, on a common basis; each desiring to deal with perfect equity, mutually recognizing the integrity and manliness of both. Arbitration is, relatively, cumbersome, because it submits the decision of a trade question of possibly fundamental importance to a third party; but when other means fail it is, in its voluntary form, an eminently civilized recourse. Compulsory arbitration would lead to results more disastrous than follow strikes or lockouts. It would mean the enforcement of wage-rates that might be destructive to capital, or the evasion of the law, on the one hand; or driving men to their labor by force, on the other. The problem of labor is a continuing one, which can never be finally settled; which must ever develop new phases and difficulties; its friction can be moderated, but not eliminated. The parties to labor controversies, like those to all contests between intelligent beings, invariably claim that they stand for vital principles. In this contention they are sincere, but mistaken. Thus, in the report on the anthracite strike, Colonel Wright was able to say that although the difference in point of view had led to apparently-conflicting statements, these were the consequences of position, and not of a desire to mislead. The fact that labor unions exist, and that workingmen can and do strike, is proof of the growth of intelligence; when intelligence is yet greater, differences will be settled without resort to industrial warfare. In the meantime, labor unions should be incorporated; they should develop a higher average of leadership; and employers should be much more considerate of the rights and welfare of employees.

THE SETTLEMENT OF THE COAL STRIKE.

BY WALTER WELLMAN.

NOW that the great coal strike has been settled, it is interesting to inquire how the end was reached, and what it means. It means much more than the mere resumption of coal production and relief of the fuel famine. Important as that is, the true significance of the settlement, and of the method employed in bringing it about, is much broader and more far-reaching. The greatest event affecting the relations of capital and labor in the history of America was the agreement to submit the coal strike to an arbitration tribunal appointed by the President of the United States. It marked a distinct step forward; and it is not too optimistic to say that the precedent now established is likely to go very far toward making great and prolonged strikes well-nigh impossible in the future. Both capital and labor have learned a most wholesome lesson; capital, more especially, for reasons which I shall hereinafter suggest.

Every great example and every great action involves the breaking of precedents. One of the finest phases of American life—whether in literature, art, invention, industrialism, finance, or civics,—is the spirit which refuses to admit that a thing cannot be done because it has never been done before. Fortunate, indeed, was it that there sat in the Presidential chair at Washington a man whose intrepidity gives him almost a fondness for breaking precedents and striking down traditions, provided they are precedents and traditions which stand in the way of wholesome achievement. Many of Mr. Roosevelt's advisers thought he made a great mistake by setting out as a strike-settler; the President, in their opinion, had enough on his hands in discharging his constitutional duties as head of the state and his traditional duties as chief of a great political party, without hunting trouble elsewhere. It is a not very well-kept secret at Washington that, for a time, the President's mentors were divided into two camps on this question,—one urging him to pull out and stand upon his record of an honest, though futile effort, after the apparent failure of the White House conference; and the other urging him to go ahead despite constitutional rocks and political torpedoes.

Now that it is all over, it is pleasant to reflect that, among the latter party, was none other than the President himself. He never had the slightest notion of giving up the job. He lis-

tened patiently enough to those who pointed out the difficulties and dangers of the business; the hazards of playing with the fires of capital's sensitiveness and labor's suspiciousness; but he went ahead, just the same. It is almost a pity—from the standpoint of those of us who love to study the game,—that the strike was settled; for it would doubtless have been most delightful to watch and see how far Theodore Roosevelt would go, and by what route. It might, also, have been rather thrilling. One thing is very certain; if the strike had gone on, and serious disorder had occurred in the coal fields, and federal troops were needed to restore order,—the bluecoats would have been on hand; under their orders, no trifling would have been permitted. One of Mr. Roosevelt's maxims, "Don't hit till you have to; but, when you do hit, hit hard," would have found practical application here.

But the strike has been settled, and President Roosevelt is entitled to, and is getting, a large share of the credit. Most people say, "The President settled it!" It would be more accurate to say that he helped. At this juncture, it is worth while to let the eye glance rapidly backward for a moment. It is too long a tale to be told here—the origin, progress, and pathology of the mental disease which had seized upon the managers of the coal railways. They had this disease, and, apparently, there was no one that could cure them. Pride of opinion, obstinacy, arrogance, childishness, inability to sympathize with the interests of other people, or even to comprehend how their own were to be best served; a tendency to misunderstand everything and every one, and to browbeat all who would not agree with them, were the outward manifestations of the disorder which the public saw most of. Senator Hanna and the Civic Federation tried to ward off the malady; but, in the end, only aggravated it. Mr. Hanna had settled the strike of 1900 for political reasons, and he was not to be permitted to meddle this time. Various well-meaning outsiders offered their good offices, but were rebuffed. Philanthropists, governors, and more Senators tried their hands, but failed.

Late in August, Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan returned from Europe, and there was general expectation that he would soon settle the strike. He had organized what is known as the coal

trust, and Morganized corporations controlled nearly 75 per cent. of the output. Hence, no one doubted that the great financier had power to call the strike off whenever he chose by the simple process of calling up a few railway presidents on the telephone and giving them their orders in sufficiently large doses. But when Mr. Morgan caused the announcement to be indirectly made that he was not responsible for the strike and did not intend to interfere, there was widespread and keen disappointment. People at once rushed to the conclusion that Mr. Morgan did not settle the strike because he did not want to, and abusive letters by the hundred poured in upon him.

Now, the facts are that Mr. Morgan has been trying to settle the strike all the time. Since returning from Europe he has done little else. Even he was at once surprised to find how difficult a task it was. By this time the hallucinations of the railway presidents were chronic and painful. It is only fair to them to say that they sincerely believed they were right in their contention that the miners' union was a wretched, irresponsible, and lawless organization; that it maintained the strike through intimidation; and that they,—the railway presidents,—had become, through circumstances, the champions of the sacred right of men to work when they wish to work and somebody is ready to hire them. "Let us alone, and we will win out," was the plea which Mr. Morgan heard from the lips of Mr. Baer and his associates at every effort to bring about a settlement. "All we need is sufficient protection, and we'll break the strike. An important principle is at stake; so, let us alone."

Time and time again Mr. Morgan endeavored to secure some slight recession from this attitude which would make a settlement possible. The railway presidents were as a stone wall. They had become almost fanatical. They knew that if Mr. Morgan were to throw aside every other consideration and rush on to a settlement, at any cost, he had the power to do so; but they felt that he would not go to this extreme. They knew that he is, essentially, a peacemaker; that he abhors, above all things, quarrels between large interests in the financial world. In the coal fields many interests were involved, and some of these stood by Mr. Baer,—a great number of capitalists and high officials of banks and railways whom Mr. Baer and his associates had been able to convince that their view was the right one, and that in the battle was involved a principle which it would be cowardly to sacrifice. Then Mr. Morgan, for a long time, found settlement impossible within the limits of action which he thought it necessary for him to respect. He

could not afford a clash of interests, and he could not attempt to use his power as that of a dictator as long as these other interests stood out. Besides, at every turn, Messrs. Baer, *et al.*, begged for "a little more time, and we'll break the strike."

Things drifted thus till President Roosevelt decided to take a hand in the game and called the now-famous conference at the temporary White House. Apparently, this conference was a failure; it resulted in nothing, unless it was a widening of the breach. But, actually, this conference was the beginning of the end. It set in motion the molecules in men's brains which produce the mightiest effects in this world. It brought on "the psychological moment,"—a moment which Mr. Morgan and his alert allies, partners Bacon, Steele, and Perkins, were quick to perceive and take advantage of. Some of the events which followed in rapid succession may be thus listed:

1. Governor Stone ordered out the Pennsylvania militia.
2. Mr. Morgan told the operators that with this ample protection they must "make good" by mining coal or admit that they had lost the battle.
3. Reports from the coal fields indicated that the presence of troops added none to the numbers of men at work.
4. Mr. Mitchell, of the miners' union, called meetings of the locals, which unanimously decided against acceptance of President Roosevelt's suggestion of a return to work, relying upon the efforts of the President to secure justice for them, and voted to continue the strike to the end.

The intolerant tone of the railway presidents in their conference with President Roosevelt displeased the country, and greatly strengthened Mr. Mitchell, whose bearing was dignified and respectful. Men who had taken the operators' side of the controversy said such manners "spoiled their case." Among the men of great influence within the coal corporations who were provoked at the manner in which the railway presidents had borne themselves in the presence of the Chief Magistrate, was Mr. Cassatt, president of the Pennsylvania Railway. Up to this time, Mr. Cassatt had been an indifferent spectator; only recently returned from his long summer vacation, he was not in full touch with the situation. His sympathies leaned naturally to the operators' side, but he did not regard himself as occupying a position of responsibility with regard to the question. But Mr. Morgan thought otherwise. Control of the Reading Railway having virtually passed from the hands of Mr. Morgan as voting trustee to the Penn-

sylvania Railway, and the Reading being a large miner and shipper of coal, efforts were made to induce Mr. Cassatt to join in settling the strike.

Impressed by the chain of events which immediately followed the White House conference, as well as by the state of public opinion, Mr. Cassatt at last bestirred himself. He visited New York, and had a long conference with Mr. Morgan. This was on October 7. That moment marked the beginning of the end. As soon as Morgan and Cassatt came to an understanding, the deadlock in the coal region was doomed; from this on it was only a question of time and method. There immediately followed the effort of Senators Platt and Quay and Governor Odell to secure a settlement,—an effort which might have succeeded but for injudicious use of threats by the Senators.

The next step was the visit of Secretary of War Root to Mr. Morgan on the 11th. Mr. Root went—at the request of President Roosevelt,—to present to Mr. Morgan, and, through Mr. Morgan, to all the interests involved, some of the aspects of the situation as it was viewed at Washington, and the programme of the President concerning it, as already outlined in the first part of this article. The President could not have had a better emissary. Masterful, intellectual, practical; always driving straight to the heart of a problem; fertile of plans for getting over difficulties and to results is Elihu Root. The great financier and the great War Secretary made progress. The former proclaimed himself ready and able to cut the Gordian knot which had bound up the labor and the production of the anthracite fields; he felt his responsibility to the public, to society, and he was not the man to shirk it. The latter pointed out the way,—it was arbitration under the auspices of his chief.

That was Saturday. The next day Mr. Cassatt sent Mr. Baer of the Reading flying to Mr. Morgan by special train. All that Sunday telephones were throbbing through the East as financiers talked to railway chiefs. Monday all met in New York for consultation. As theretofore, counsels were divided. Some were for fighting it out; some for settlement by posting notices offering a small increase of wages; others, for other methods. But now there was a master-mind and a master-will among them; it was Mr. Morgan. He dictated terms; he decided upon the plan. The brain of Elihu Root had supplied the idea; the power of Pierpont Morgan clothed it with life.

Probably Mr. Morgan never before appeared so large. It was one of the crowning moments

of his life. For weeks he had labored along the road to it. The money in the coal business he cared not a rap for,—a few millions, more or less, were as nothing in the balance. But he did care for his prestige and fame as a conservator of industrial peace; he did care for his responsibility as a trustee of great interests; millions of men, and millions of money, demanded of him action and wisdom. He had his way, and it was the right way. Steel trust, nor shipping trust, nor any other great triumph in the field of finance, will ever reflect so much honor upon Mr. Morgan as this unselfish and patriotic achievement.

He had not only done a great thing, but he now proceeded to make it known in a big way. Instead of having the proposal to arbitrate announced at his bank, with himself inevitably looming in the background as the creator of it, he thought of Mr. Roosevelt down in Washington. Some of Mr. Roosevelt's acts he had not relished; the attack upon Northern Securities was, in his opinion, an onslaught upon him. But there was to be no littleness in this great hour. So he telephoned for a special train, and was soon speeding to the national capital. As I saw him walk into the White House, with Mr. Root, to place the fruit of his power and labor before the young President,—as if it were a peace-offering and a pledge of good citizenship, and of desire to be of service to society,—I thought the scene worthy of a place in a drama of American life.

This was not the last chance Mr. Morgan had to do good work in ending the strike. The limitations placed upon the selection of arbiters were regarded by President Roosevelt as somewhat too narrow. He wished to broaden them by minor changes and by adding two names to the list. When the presidents of the coal roads received this suggestion from the President they flouted it. They were unwilling to have an "i" dotted or a "t" crossed in the proposition, as they had agreed to it. If there were to be any changes they would repudiate the whole business. Here, again, Mr. Morgan stepped in; he took charge; he sent his partners, Messrs. Perkins and Bacon, to Washington, instructed to adjust the differences. The result is known to the country. An arbitration commission was agreed upon, and announced, and the strike came to an end with the acquiescence of a delegate convention of miners held at Wilkesbarre on October 21. Had not Mr. Morgan compelled the operators to accept this compromise, the fat would have been in the fire; for President Mitchell was determined, should the compromise fail, to demand for the miners an arbi-

tration board selected by President Roosevelt without any restrictions whatever.

Press and public have praised President Roosevelt alike for his efforts in behalf of peace, and for the care which he exercised in making up his commission. Nothing succeeds like success. Had the President failed, he would not have had as many of critics as he now has of eulogists; but they would have made more noise. The idea of the coal-company people in proposing that men of certain described vocations or professions be named was not an attempt to "pack the jury," but to avert, if possible, the selection of too many philanthropists, prelates, theorists, sociologists, and such. Those people have too much heart, and not enough head, for the cold realities of business; and, after all,—from the operators' view-point,—this is a business question.

Of the capacity and impartiality of the tribunal there can be no doubt. Gen. John M. Wilson, of the United States army, knows what discipline is and has a proper respect for it; but, as an engineer-officer who has had much to do with such public works as river-and-harbor improvements, and other government construction, he has acquired personal knowledge of the labor question from an unprejudiced standpoint. Hon. George Gray, of Delaware, is well known as lawyer, Senator, and federal judge; he has the judicial temperament, and, in character and attainments, is an ideal arbitrator in any cause requiring breadth of view and painstaking investigation. Edward Parker, statistician of the Geological Survey, is an expert student of the coal industry. An effort has been made to ascribe bias to him on account of the fact that he is part owner of a coal-trade journal which, in the past, has espoused the operators' side of the controversy; but every one who knows him believes him capable of a perfectly fair judgment. Thomas H. Watkins, of Scranton, was for several years member of a coal-mining firm, and he is supposed to be the representative of the operators upon the commission. As a matter of fact, Mr. Watkins is as unprejudiced as any one could wish; he knows both sides of the question practically, for in his youth he worked in a coal mine, and was afterward an employer of miners. Bishop Spalding, of Peoria, is a distinguished Catholic prelate who has made a study of industrial questions, and whose sympathies are known to be warm for the miners of his own section of the country. Edgar E. Clark, chief of the Order of Railway Conductors, is the representative of organized labor; he was a brakeman on Western railroads, and has practical knowledge of labor conditions.

It is a well-balanced tribunal. If tendencies or bias could be justly ascribed to any of the members, Clark and Spalding would be set down as leaning toward the miners; Parker and Watkins to the owners; with Gray and Wilson as wholly neutral.

One highly important result may come from this arbitration; and that is judgment upon the question whether or not the union is to be recognized and dealt with. By proposing to abide by the tribunal's verdict as to "all issues" the operators bind themselves to recognize the union, should the commission so decide. As this article is written the commission was not organized; but it would be absurd for it to dispose of the question of wages without attempting a solution of the vital and controlling problem in the anthracite field,—which is, the relations which the organizations of the miners are to have with the companies. It is only by deciding this question, and compelling obedience, that a permanent peace can be secured. The operators have refused to have any dealings with the union, or with its president, John Mitchell. To them their reasons may seem valid; but men like the writer,—who know Mr. Mitchell personally, and who have studied the methods of his organization,—are unable to discover any good argument against recognition and close working relations. The union is conservative and fair; it is led by men of great ability and moderation; its aim is not to fight owners, but to aid them in maintaining discipline and stability. With a pretty full knowledge of these facts, I unhesitatingly declare that, if six or eight months ago the railway managers had set out to make use of the union as a coöperative agent in the task of handling labor with the least possible friction, there not only need not have been a strike, but by this time the amicable relations between the companies and the organizations of the men would be giving such satisfaction that the employers would not consent to a return to the old conditions. Such is the verdict of the soft-coal operators of the West who have found industrial peace through close relations with the same organizations.

It is not at all improbable that the result of this great arbitration will be a permanent and scientific solution of the problem along these lines. Should the President's tribunal fail so to decide, I believe the corporations themselves will soon need coöperation; for it is true that Mr. J. P. Morgan believes in organized labor, and does not believe that the right of combination should be enjoyed by capital while it is denied to labor.

JOHN MITCHELL: THE LABOR LEADER AND THE MAN.

BY FRANK JULIAN WARNE.

SEATED in a large willow-rocker near the window in strike headquarters in Wilkes-barre was a full-faced, clean-shaven man, with deep-set, luminous eyes, a firm mouth and a high forehead, with the brown,—almost black,—hair brushed carelessly back on the right side, as if by the fingers. A frock coat, high collar, and a black tie large enough to almost hide the white of the shirt gave to the figure the appearance of a priest. At the moment,—it was on a Sunday morning,—each feature of the face expressed serious thought, if not worry, with now and then a flash very near to melancholy. In his hands was a colored cardboard, characteristic of the illustrated Sunday newspaper supplement. As he turned the cardboard around slowly, he traced with a pair of scissors its black-dotted lines, only stopping long enough now and then to bite off the end of a half-smoked, half-chewed cigar. Scattered over the floor, as if discarded in impatience, piled under the small table and stacked in one corner of the room, covering the bureau and protruding from its drawers, were newspapers by the score. Clippings lay on the table among government reports, volumes treating of various phases of the coal industry, hurriedly-assorted mail, and here and there a novel whose title recalled treatments of certain labor problems. The scissors were laid aside, the pieces cut from the cardboard were fastened together by bending their corners, and the whole was set upon the mantelpiece. It represented Abraham Lincoln standing on a platform, with one hand holding outstretched a scroll and with the other raised in command. Beneath, looking up to the figure, with great joy depicted on their faces, were two negroes half-rising from the ground, and with the shackles falling from their hands and feet. Under a pictorial representation of marching troops were the words "A Race Set Free and the Country at Peace."

The man who had engaged in a task usually associated with the pastimes of a child was John Mitchell, president of the United Mine Workers of America.

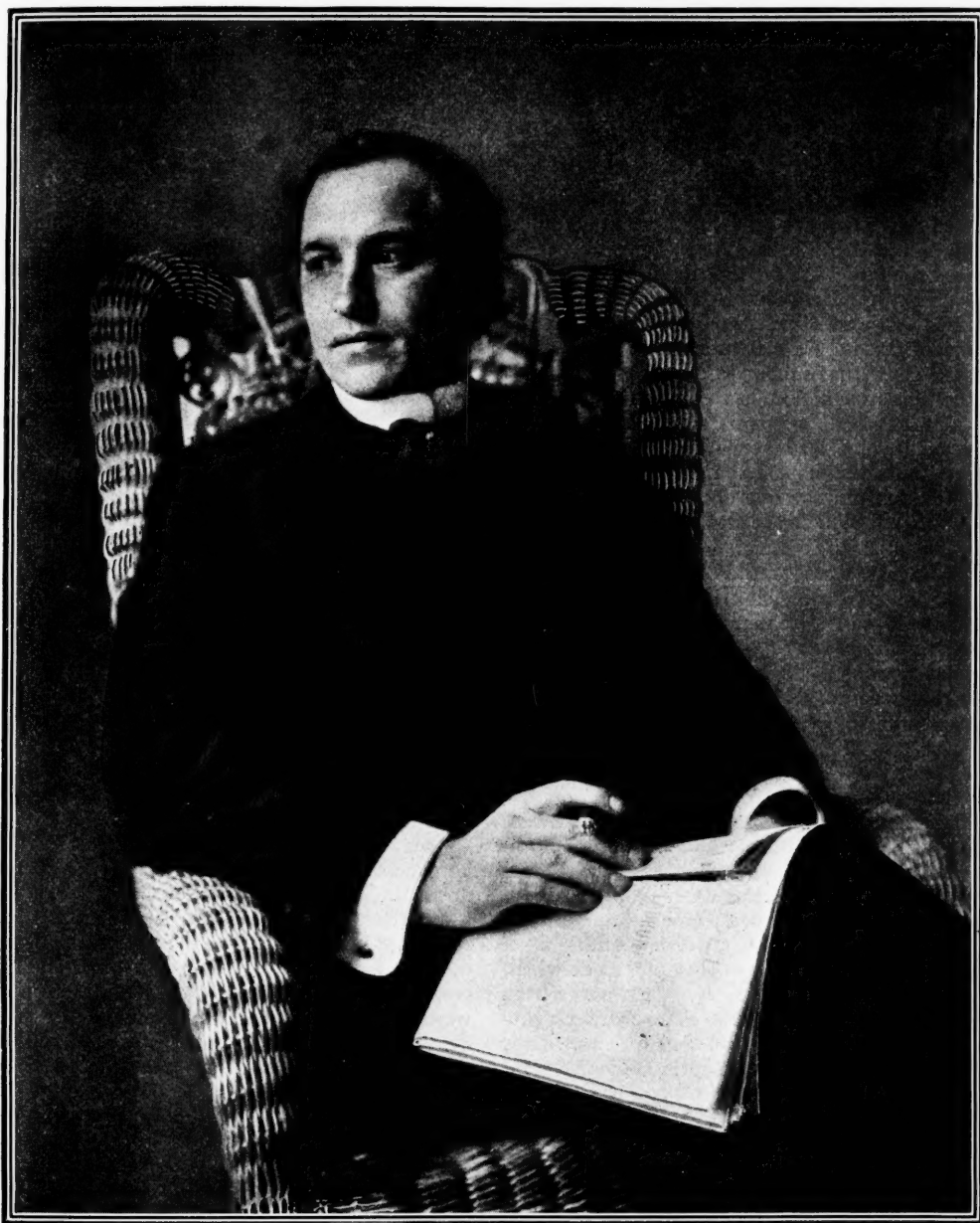
"Capital and labor will both be sorely wounded before they work out their proper relations," he said, as he resumed his seat near the window. "I am not a Socialist, and do not believe in Socialism. I do not believe it would be best for the State to own and operate her coal mines. I

am a strict trade-unionist. I believe in progress slowly,—by evolution rather than by revolution. I believe a better day is in store for the American workingman, but it has to come through no radical change in the organization of human society. It must come one step at a time, and through a slow upward movement, by his own efforts. One thing at a time, and not all things at once, is the way a better state will be ushered in. I know there are those in the United Mine Workers of America who believe in an early realization of a new social state, where all men are to be economically equal. But such members are in the minority. The principle that governs our organization is that of trade-unionism, pure and simple,—of labor's joint bargaining with capital for a fair share of that which labor helps to produce. We believe in securing this by peaceable means,—through arbitration, if possible,—and, if not in this way, then by the only remaining way left to us."

It was suggested that many of labor's most intricate and harassing problems might be solved if there were an intelligent supervision and direction of the great stream of immigration yearly coming to the United States. "Instead of waiting until this stream chokes up the mining industry with an over-supply of labor, why do not the United Mine Workers aim to control it when it first reaches this country, directing it into the sources of demand intelligently and rationally?" he was asked.

"This stream of immigration," he replied, "must flow somewhere. If it is not into the mining industry, then into some other industry, where its temporary evil results will be just as evident. I doubt if there could be any such control. The labor problem is a national one,—not local,—and we must have consideration for the American workingman in other industries as well as in mining. No matter in what direction this immigration is turned in this country, the same problem is presented—a tendency to the lowering of wages. I believe the only way to solve this is to organize labor so that this tendency will be checked,—to have the American workingman enforce a living standard of wages, for less than which no laborer should work."

As to the personal side of his life,—the influences that have made marked impressions in forming his character and ideas,—President



MR. JOHN MITCHELL.

Mitchell is reticent. He does not recall that any books in particular have given a direction to his thoughts, although he remembers having been much impressed by Spencer's "Social Statics" and Bellamy's "Looking Backward." He has been a voracious reader from youth up.

No one acquainted with the labor leader—

labor "agitator," as he was commonly called,—of a decade or more ago who has had a close insight into the methods of the man at the head of the United Mine Workers, can doubt that John Mitchell is a new type of labor leader. He is not a demagogue; a haranguer; a typical agitator. His public speeches and statements

show this. They do not overflow with flowery metaphors appealing to the passions and prejudices of his followers; but, for the most part, they are business-like presentations of conditions as he sees them, appealing to the reason. At no time in the history of the labor movement in this country have such remarkable manifestos been issued by any leader as have been his replies to the operators and his presentations to the public of the miners' side of the controversy during the progress of the strike just closed. His point of view—his regarding labor as a commodity—and his lucid power of explanation, as evidenced in his statements and public addresses, show that a labor leader of a new school of thought and action has come to the front. He is, first of all, a business man in the labor movement; he leads organized labor as our "captain of industry" manages a great commercial or industrial combination. He treats labor as a commodity. That particular amount which the United Mine Workers controls is for sale; his organization wants the highest price it can get for it; he realizes, at the same time, that the purchasers—the railroad-mining companies—like all consumers, want to get this labor at as low a price as possible. These two opposite points of view, he believes, can be reconciled by the two parties most interested "bargaining" as to the price of labor. This is done between capital and labor in ten of the soft-coal producing States in joint annual conferences.

In Kansas, Iowa, Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and in parts of the western and central Pennsylvania soft coal fields the representatives of the mine employees and of the operators meet annually to determine, for a period of twelve months, upon the wages and conditions of employment which shall prevail in the industry. In these States there are a total of 185,000 mine workers, producing annually 125,000,000 tons of coal. Prior to the introduction of the principle of "joint bargaining" between the employees and the employers through the efforts of the United Mine Workers of America strikes and lockouts were of frequent occurrence in these States, but the adoption of the joint conference plan has had the effect of reducing labor disturbances in those particular fields to a minimum. In the States mentioned practically all the mine employees work under agreements entered into by representatives of both the operators and the union. These contracts cannot be enforced by law: the only power back of them to compel the mine workers to live up to them is the word of the United Mine Workers officials.

When the national convention of mine work-

ers met in Indianapolis, on July 16, "for the purpose of considering a proposition for a general suspension of work by the coal miners of the United States in support of the anthracite mine workers," then on strike, President Mitchell, in advising the men in the bituminous coal fields not to violate their contracts by a sympathetic strike, said: "It has been the proud boast of the United Mine Workers of America that during the past several years, or since the organization became a power in the labor world, contracts based solely upon the honor and good faith of our union have, under the most trying circumstances, been kept inviolate." He expressed his belief that "contracts mutually made should, during their life, be kept inviolate," and that "a disregard of contracts strikes at the very vitals of organized labor." Senator Hanna, as a representative of the soft coal operators of Ohio, where such agreements exist, testifies to their efficiency in preserving amicable relations between the employees and the employers.

Such a plan President Mitchell is striving to secure for the hard coal industry. To it the operators objected. Then he suggested arbitration: "Let a disinterested third party determine what shall be the price of mine labor," he said. To this also the operators objected. Then the only course remaining, he believed, was for labor to refuse the price the intending purchasers offered until they came nearer the price asked by the representatives of this labor. The waiting period is called "a strike."

This is why 147,000 men and boys in the three hard coal fields, more than five months ago, laid down their tools for an indefinite period. They knew from experience that such action meant suffering and want to them and those dependent upon them. Business throughout the three hard coal fields was brought to a standstill. Marriages were postponed; family relations severed; nearly every tie binding together in a social bond hundreds of thousands of people was affected. Great railroad systems, which for years have been burning anthracite in some of their locomotives, were compelled to adopt substitutes, and there being no hard coal to transport to market, much of their revenues were stopped. The supply of fuel for millions of people and thousands of industries, not directly parties to the controversy, was suddenly cut off. There was hardly a person in all the great industrial centers of the East who was not affected, directly or indirectly, by the strike.

What great power! What incalculable consequences might have flowed out of its use! The source of this power was in the Mine Workers' convention, which declared for the strike. But



Sketched for the New York American.

MR. JOHN MITCHELL.

while the struggle was in progress it was all delegated into the hands of one man. It was recalled when the convention met again to declare the strike at an end; but, in the meantime, it was exercised by one man,—the son of a farmer and coal miner,—a man who, twenty years ago, when but thirteen years of age, was working in the coal mines of Illinois.

Deprived of his mother within two, and of his father within four, years after his birth,—on February 4, 1869,—John Mitchell was early in life left in the care of his stepmother. His schooling was meager, and was secured only at intervals when there was no demand for his labor on the farm. Thrown upon his own resources when but thirteen years of age, he entered the mines at his birthplace in Braidwood, Ill. Three years later, while employed in the mines at Braceville, Ill., he was brought under the influence of the labor movement at that time directed by the Knights of Labor. It

made him restless, and, with the indomitable will of his Irish parentage, he set out determined to see something of the world. He visited Colorado, New Mexico, and other Western and Southwestern States, working in the mines to support himself. Drifting back to the Illinois coal fields in 1886, he became a mine worker at Spring Valley, and took an active part in the trade-union movement there as President of the Knights of Labor "Local." When twenty-two years of age he married Miss Katherine O'Rourke, of Spring Valley; five children have been born to them, of whom four are living. At one time he served as president of the Spring Valley Board of Education.

Thirsting for knowledge, he read everything that came within his reach; joined debating societies, athletic associations, independent political reform clubs and various social organizations, in which many opportunities came to him to exercise his mental faculties and to cultivate the art of speech-making. A ready talker, with great

personal magnetism, he quickly formed friends, and was rapidly promoted to positions of honor and trust.

When the United Mine Workers of America was organized in January, 1890, he was among the first to be enrolled as a member in his district. He was a delegate to the sub-district and district conventions; secretary-treasurer of the northern Illinois sub-district, at that time embracing all of the State then organized; and, in 1896, chairman of the Illinois Mine Workers' legislative committee, with headquarters at the state capital to work for labor legislation. He served later as a member of the Illinois state executive board and as a national organizer.

In January, 1898, at the Columbus convention, Mr. Mitchell was elected national vice-president, and in September of the same year the executive board made him acting president to succeed Mr. M. D. Ratchford, who resigned to become a member of the United States In-

dustrial Commission. The national convention at Pittsburg, in January, 1899, confirmed this choice and elected him for the following year. He has been reelected each year since then. He is second vice-president of the American Federation of Labor, and a member of various committees of the National Civic Federation.

Trained in simplicity of living, he remains democratic in all his habits. Except when pressed with business matters, he is approachable by any one wishing to see or meet him. Usually, he makes his headquarters in hotels where the men he leads will not feel out of place when they call to consult him. He leads, and yet the men who follow him believe that he is but their servant carrying out their expressed wishes. This is the explanation of much of his power over the mine workers, particularly in strike times. Its exercise has had the effect of making him conservative in action. With his frugal habits and comparatively small salary, there is no place for "high living" or excesses that undermine mental vigor. In any industrial or commercial pursuit his marked ability for organizing and leading men would command many times his present yearly salary of \$1,800.

The head of the United Mine Workers has an active brain, trained by hard and continuous work, capable of brushing aside subterfuges and at once grasping the essential points of a difficulty. He impresses one as having an almost inexhaustible supply of stored-up energy, bodily and mental. He is indefatigable; so hard does he work that his friends have more than once felt solicitous for his health. This working of his restless energy is probably best shown in what has been accomplished by the organization since he was first placed at its head, just four years ago. In September, 1898, the union had but 43,000 members; in January of this year it numbered nearly 300,000 in the 2,000 locals scattered throughout 21 of the 28 coal-producing States. He has extended the eight-hour workday into the mines of Missouri, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Kentucky, and parts of Tennessee, and has secured for the mine employees of those States an increase in wages ranging from 13 to 25 per cent. An increase of 21 per cent. in the wages of other mine workers in different States has been secured through joint conventions with the operators; and an increase of 10 per cent. in wages, with the abolition of certain grievances, was, in 1900, forced from

the anthracite railroad mining companies in the three hard coal districts of Pennsylvania.

Great as all these are in accomplishment, they are overshadowed by President Mitchell's recent victory, now fresh in the public mind. After five months of bitter warfare, he has fought to a successful termination the greatest conflict between capital and labor ever waged in the history of the world. He has advanced the cause of labor by leaps and bounds: he has ushered in the period when peace through arbitration promises to reign supreme over our industrial world in place of war through strikes and lock-outs. It is too early yet to realize the tremendous importance of this one accomplishment. This much seems clear, however,—by it a new era has been entered upon. Not the least of its effects will be the widening of the scope of the office of the President of the United States.

When John Mitchell, as the representative of this principle of arbitration—of this new era—stood face to face with the presidents of the coal-carrying railroads and mining companies in the presence of the Chief Magistrate of the nation, the American people had presented to them, for the first time, a full view of the new type of man who is marshaling labor's hosts and directing its battles. It was there he won his greatest fight; with the representatives of eight great corporations as his antagonists, and with millions of people as anxious, eager spectators. Under circumstances that might have tried bitterly the strength of any champion, this mild, unassuming son of the plain people, demonstrated anew the teaching that it is to him only who has conquered himself is it given to conquer and lead men. When, unmoved by the attacks of his adversaries, he calmly offered to submit to a commission appointed by the President all the questions in dispute, and to abide by the decision of that tribunal, even if the mine workers were not granted a single concession, he won over the public. It took sides. It forced arbitration as the means of settlement. And in doing so it has proclaimed, in no uncertain tones, its confidence in such a man.

John Mitchell's present aim is to organize thoroughly all the 455,000 mine employees in the United States into the United Mine Workers of America. That he will accomplish this purpose, unless sooner called to higher honors and wider fields of usefulness, no one who knows the man and his work entertains the least doubt.

A SUCCESSFUL FARM COLONY IN THE IRRIGATION COUNTRY.

BY ALBERT SHAW.

"BACK to the land" is a favorite motto of some of the most thoughtful students of our American society. They believe that country life, under improved agricultural and social conditions, offers a remedy of increasing importance for the evils of the congested life of our great cities and industrial towns. Attractive, however, as this remedy could easily be made to appear, its practical difficulties heretofore have been almost insurmountable. How shall the victim of ill-health or other misfortune—finding himself penniless and in need of charitable aid, in the tenements of New York or Chicago with a family on his hands,—make the initial move to a happy life in the sunshine and fresh air of the country? Even if he were possessed of a practical knowledge of farming, his lack of enough money even to buy a railroad ticket to the West would make it as difficult for him to set himself up in business as an independent American farmer, as to become the president of a bank or a railroad. And even with some knowledge of farming and a few hundred dollars, the difficulty of finding the right place and getting a successful start would be prohibitive, in nineteen cases out of twenty.

Yet it is an obvious fact that there are, in the aggregate, millions of people in our cities and towns who would be better off if established in the country; and, on the other hand, there are tens of millions of acres of land,—still cheap or wholly uncultivated,—upon which a vast, self-



A COLONIST'S COTTAGE IN PROCESS OF CONSTRUCTION.

sustaining population might well be located. The difficult questions have been how to bring the people to the land, and how to tide them over the first few years.

Evidently, the ideal plan must be some form of systematic colonization. There are many thriving instances in our Western States of highly-civilized agricultural communities formed by colonies of well-selected, well-to-do, experienced, and capable people. And these instances are pleasant to encounter and easy to praise. But what one wants most to find are instances of the successful colonization of impoverished people from the cities who have sought an escape from conditions that were crushing them down, and whose resort to agriculture is bringing happiness, independence, and true success in life.

We believe that the Salvation Army has found a way to bring this desirable thing to pass; and that it can now show at least one quite remarkable demonstration of its methods, and at least two other very promising experiments. A favorite part of General Booth's great social project a dozen years ago, for the relief of London's abject pauperism, was temporary colonization on farms in England, to be followed by transplantation to permanent farm colonies beyond the seas. "In Darkest England and the Way Out" was a marvelous contribution—both theoretical and practical,—to the diagnosis of modern poverty and to its remedial treatment.



THE FORT AMITY SCHOOLHOUSE.

Much can already be shown, by way of results, from a number of efforts then set on foot in England by General Booth, his associates, and the supporters of his social work. The land project undertaken by the Salvation Army in this country, while doubtless attributable, in the spiritual sense, to that movement in England, is, on its practical side, an entirely independent affair—worked out by the energy and great organizing ability of the present head of the Salvation Army in America, Commander Booth-Tucker.

In casting about for a way to begin the movement of surplus and unfortunate population from the cities to the country, it was hardly less than



A COLONIST AND HIS BEES.

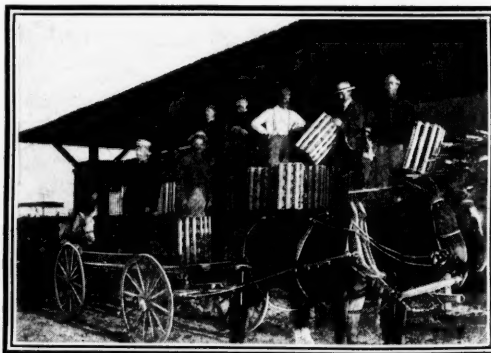
an inspiration that Commander Booth-Tucker should have grasped the idea that the best place to begin was upon valuable irrigated land, advantageously situated, in the so-called arid belt. The business of raising wheat and corn and of carrying on general farming in the Mississippi Valley, and the great prairie States of assured rainfall, belongs to the typical American farmer and his class. It cannot be entered upon with advantage by colonists from the cities. But irrigation promises to open a new agricultural empire, where very small farms and well-organized neighborhood life must be the rule; and, to this region, colonies from the cities may be taken, if under wise and capable guidance, with great hope of success.

The Salvation Army officers were able to enlist the good-will of the Santa Fé Railroad and of gentlemen in control of one of the largest and most reliable land and irrigation companies in the entire country. Attractive land was secured adjacent to the railroad, and it was laid out in twenty-acre farms. An announcement of the land-colony plan brought hundreds of applications from unsuccessful people in the cities who wished to be permitted to try the new ex-

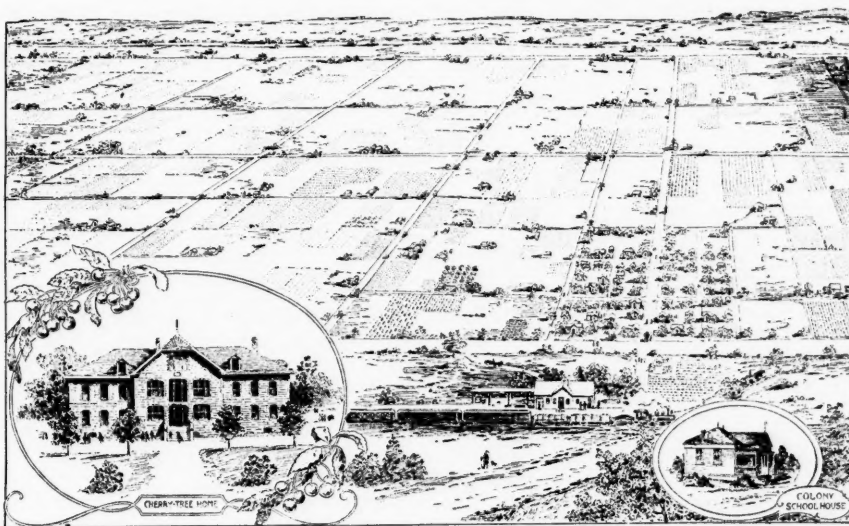


THE COLONY POST OFFICE.

periment. The pioneer group was carefully selected with a view to intelligence, character, and physical capacity. There was capable leadership, and the immediate hardships involved in camping out upon the open plain, in what happened to be a period of excessively bad weather, were cheerfully borne. Temporary shelter was soon provided; and, for the first season, farming operations were in common, in order to supply immediate necessities for food. Meanwhile, each of the pioneer families became purchasers, on credit, of a twenty-acre farm. The land had cost the Salvation Army something less than \$25 an acre, and the purchasing colonist was charged somewhat more. The colony included several mechanics, and small houses of a neat type were built by coöperative effort. A certain amount of tools, a team of horses, a cow, and other necessities, were provided on credit for each family. A period of ten years was allowed in which the colonists should pay for their land and supplies.

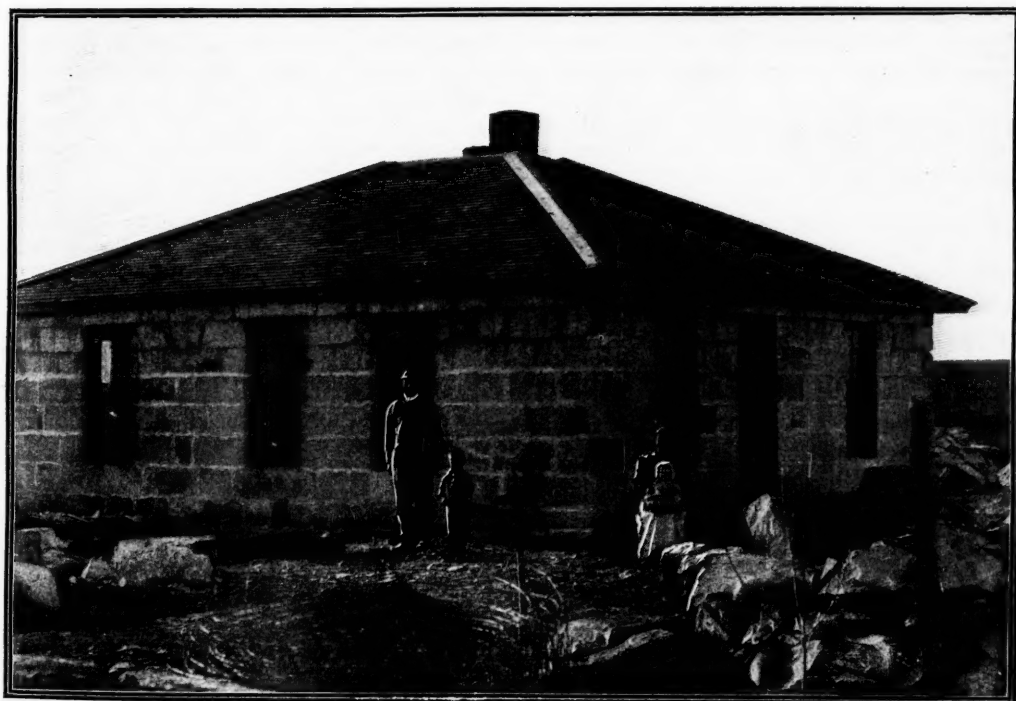


SHIPPING CANTALOUPE.



A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF FORT AMITY COLONY, COL.

(The colony owns nearly 2,000 acres of land situated in Prowers County, Col. The main line of the Santa Fé Railroad runs through the colony.)



A COLONIST AND HIS FAMILY IN FRONT OF STONE HOUSE BUILT BY HIMSELF.

it is more than four years since this Fort Amity colony,—which lies near the line between Colorado and Texas,—was started, with about sixteen families and nearly one hundred men, women, and children. It now contains forty or fifty families and, perhaps, three hundred people altogether. Under the successful irrigation system in use, the crops are abundant and sure; and, in that mild climate, several crops each year may be taken from the rich soil. With intensive cultivation, a twenty-acre farm is fully large enough to keep one family well employed and to support it in great comfort. It required the investment of a large amount of cash for the



A COLONIST HAULING MILK TO THE COLONY CREAMERY.

Salvation Army to launch an experiment of this kind; but, so far as the colonists themselves are concerned, it is in no sense a charity affair. The colonist pays interest on the farm that he buys, and upon the other materials provided; and he pays back the principal in annual installments. We have been permitted to examine the balance sheets for successive periods, and it is evident that the Amity colony is going to be a complete financial success; that is to say, the colonists are doing so well that they are not only making a current living for their families, but they are paying off their indebtedness satisfactorily. A number of them are making payments far in excess of what is due, and thus cutting off interest charges.

The smallness of the farms enables the people to meet one another frequently and to enjoy a pleasant social life. The schoolhouse—located

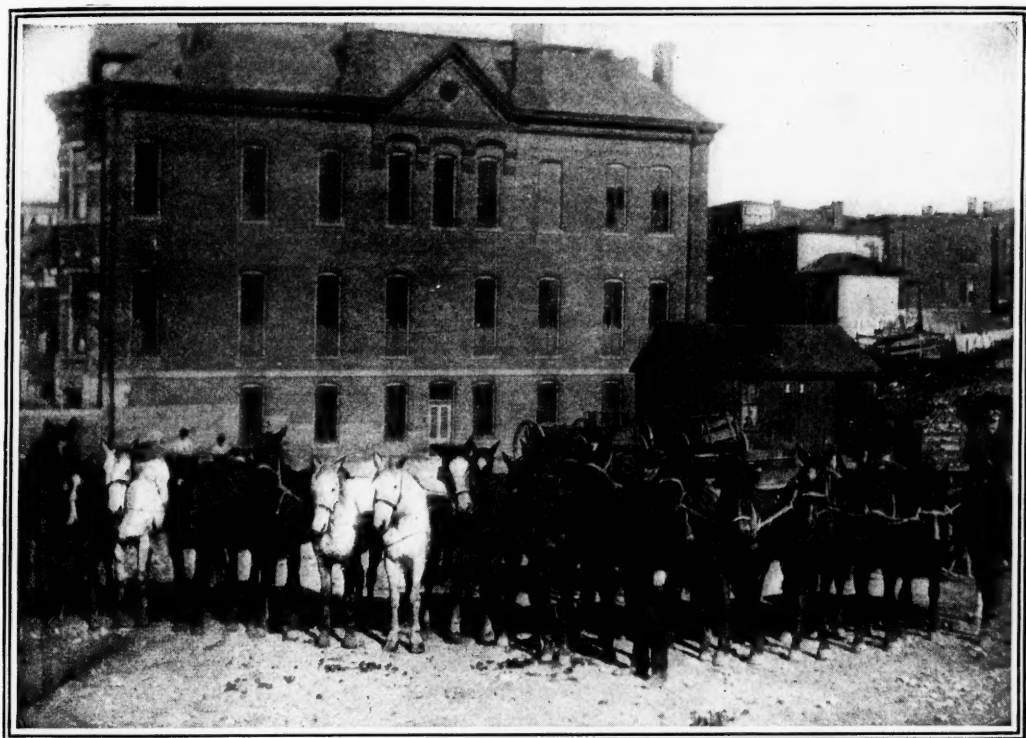


SINGING BRIGADE OF THE COLONY.

in the very center of the colony,—is, in several senses, the neighborhood focus. The community is in high favor throughout its region. It is becoming an intellectual, as well as a moral and religious, center for the countryside at large; and it is already taking the lead in advanced and scientific methods of agriculture. There is no rule that requires the colonists to be members of the Salvation Army, although that organization is naturally the foremost in the religious life of the colony. While coöperative methods prevail, to the great advantage of all, this neighborhood must not be confounded with communistic enterprises; for it rests upon the very opposite principle. Each member of the community



A FAMILY IN THE SUGAR-BEET PATCH.



BUYING A HERD OF HORSES FOR THE COLONY IN KANSAS CITY.

is an independent landowner, who has purchased his farm from an organization that has advanced the capital; that has supplied him with good neighbors; and that has given him the assurance of good schools and pleasant neighborhood advantages. In a very few years his farm will have been paid for; and with its fruit trees and flowers and its varied and luxuriant crops, it will have become a veritable little paradise.

Fort Amity is proving so advantageous a place that the Salvation Army has located there an orphanage called the Cherry-Tree Home built at a cost of about \$20,000, and accommodating, perhaps, a hundred children from crowded city streets, to be reared in this wholesome farming neighborhood and, in due

time to become themselves irrigation farmers. Commander Booth-Tucker has carried the experiment to such a point that he is certain that for

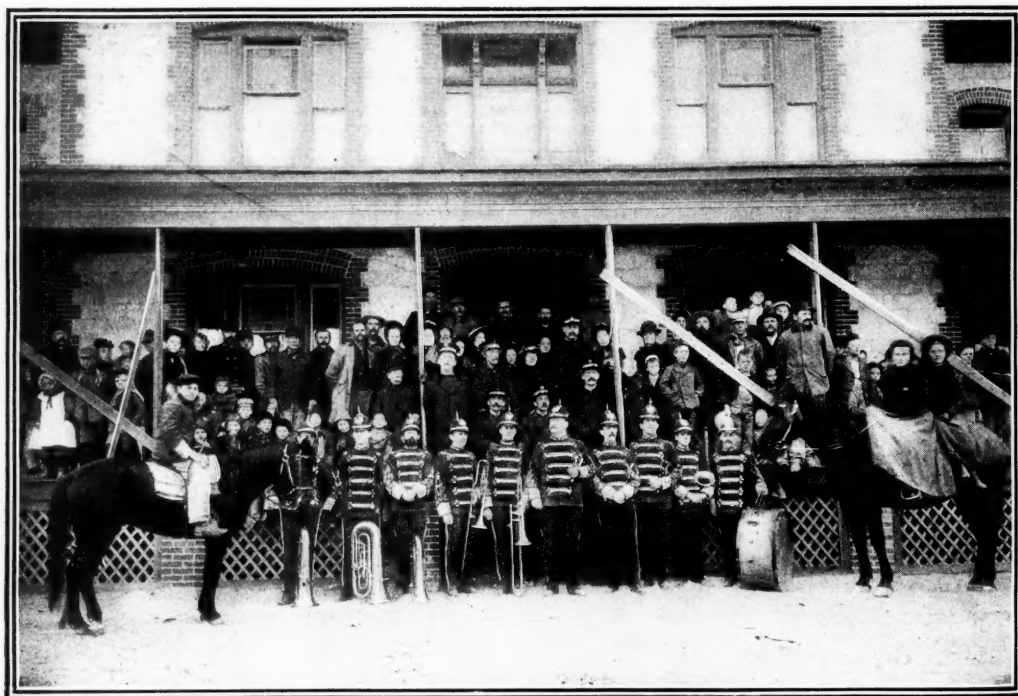


COLONISTS' CHILDREN IN THE SCHOOL-ROOM.

an average advance cost of \$500 he can take a family from the city to such a farm colony as Fort Amity, provide it with land, house, tools and team, and fairly launch it upon a successful career as the owner of an independent estate. He believes that, if a large part of the money now spent in charitable relief in cities were put into a fund for the systematic transformation of unsuccessful townfolk into successful members of farm colonies, there would be a great saving of waste human life and waste capital, as well as a great development of agricultural resources now lying waste. And we think Commander Booth-Tucker's judgment upon this matter is well matured and reliable.

Besides this colony in Prowers County, Col., the Salvation Army has established a promising settlement in California, known as Fort Romey; and, in northern Ohio, it has formed a colony known as Fort Herrick, on an admirable tract of land contributed by a generous and distinguished citizen of Cleveland, Ohio, Mr. Myron T. Herrick.

Farming is a business that requires no small degree of knowledge, judgment, and skill. One of the chief advantages of the colony plan is that there can be supplied to each uninstructed comer the necessary oversight and guidance. Where there is industry, fair intelligence, energy, and a determination to get on, the chance of failure is reduced to the very lowest minimum. It may be regarded as fortunate—in view of the new and comprehensive irrigation policy adopted by the United States Government,—that the demonstrated success of the Fort Amity colony and the other farm colonies of the Salvation Army, point the way to one of the very best methods by which to utilize the extensive tracts of productive soil that are in the near future to be made available by the completion of irrigation reservoirs and conduits. May these happy and wholesome farm colonies be multiplied by the thousand; and may they take hundreds of thousands of unfortunate town dwellers to the busy but serene and wholesome life of the irrigated farm!



SCENE ON PORCH OF CHERRY-TREE ORPHANAGE DURING VISIT OF COMMANDER AND MRS. BOOTH-TUCKER, WITH NATIONAL STAFF BAND.

THE RISE OF THE NATURE WRITERS.

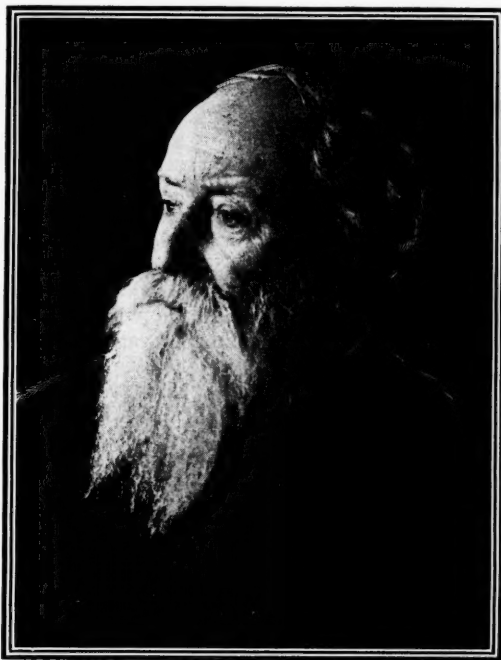
BY FRANCIS W. HALSEY.

OBSERVERS, in noting the extraordinary sales that have been secured for individual works of fiction in recent years, have sought in various ways to account for them. A common explanation has been found in advertising; as if mere advertising ever did, or ever could, force upon the public a book whose intrinsic qualities did not of themselves appeal to readers. More careful minds have cited as a cause the advances we have made in education, and these have come much closer to an acceptable explanation. Other causes have been found in the increase in the purchasing power of the reading public,—the money men and women have had to spend for books,—and in the extraordinary growth of circulating libraries. Taken together, these causes have brought, to writers like Mr. Churchill, Miss Johnston, Mr. Major, Hall Caine, Sir Gilbert Parker, the late Paul L. Ford, and the heirs of Mr. Westcott, incomes such as no writers of fiction since Scott ever before enjoyed.

Meanwhile, far less note has been taken of the increase in the production of Nature-books, both in numbers and in sales. When one recalls the Nature-books that were produced twenty-five years ago, the growth in this class of literature has been almost as noteworthy as the growth in fiction. It has amounted to a complete transformation, not only in the volume of sales, but in the character of the books themselves. Most readers can recall a time when the early writings of John Burroughs stood almost alone among Nature-books which, at the same time, could have been called scientific as well as popular. Popular would scarcely now be the right word for books which sold no better than Mr. Burroughs' early ones, and yet in their day Mr. Burroughs could easily have been called a popular writer in the sense that he most nearly reached what there was in existence then of popular taste for Nature-books. It was a brave stand Mr. Burroughs made. Long and consistently has he adhered to the original lines on which he wrote,—lines on which let us all be thankful that he still writes,—firm in a determination to write on no others.

Mr. Burroughs has come rightfully into his rich inheritance of fame. Seldom has real distinction been earned in literature through ways more honorable to its possessor or through sincerity more deep. Wordsworth's line that "The

mind that builds for aye" trusts to "the solid ground of Nature" has not been better justified in any other man who has written of Nature. Justified he not only is in his own present distinction, but in his intellectual children, for in truth what a throng of children has he not raised up—men and women who have not written



By courtesy of McClure, Phillips & Co.

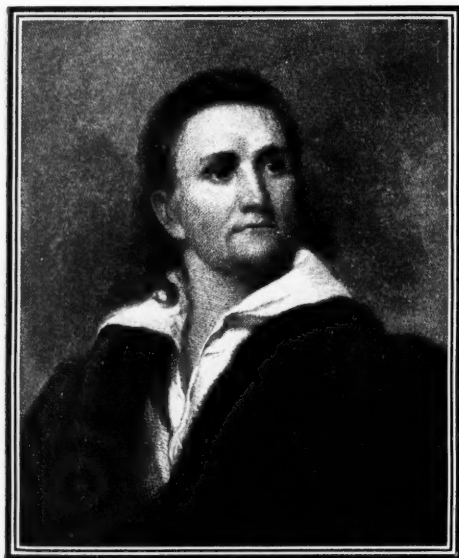
JOHN BURROUGHS.

of Nature from the outside, as mere observers and passers-by, but who have studied long and deeply to discover her secrets, and, seeking diligently, have found them, because they loved her while engaged in the pursuit.

Long before the day of Burroughs, at least two other men wrote of Nature in "sad sincerity" quite as notable as his—Audubon and Gilbert White. The books of Audubon never passed into popular circulation, because the editions were small and expensive, but it was Audubon who taught observers the supreme importance of intimate knowledge as gained from study

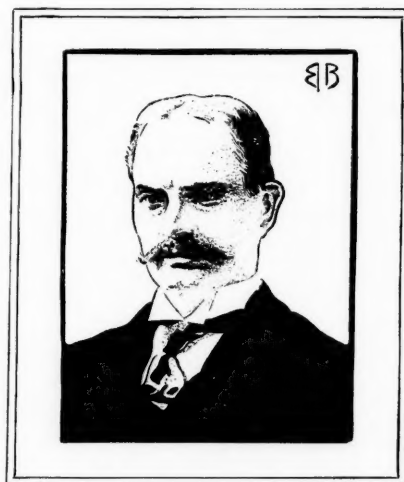
close to the subjects they wrote about. His influence in this direction (and some others) is potent still, and will long remain so. That friend of all creatures, whether on four feet or two, left behind him certain journals of his life which, when published within the last decade, disclosed how fine was his devotion and how rare his spirit. Strange, indeed, was it that they should have lain so long unknown,—some of them in the back of an old secretary, others in a barn on Staten Island. When his granddaughter, Maria R. Audubon, edited them for publication, readers saw, as they had never discovered in his previously published works, what splendor lay in Audubon's nature, and how worthy is that fame which holds him secure as one of the most inspiring and noble figures in the annals of American science.

Gilbert White antedated by long years Audubon and Burroughs,—White the obscure curate, unknown to most of his fellow-townsmen, spending his days in a private garden or in fields about Selborne, that he might write one of the famous books of his generation, and of which the fame grows with the passing of time, as witness the many editions late years have absorbed. White also was a close observer; he wrote down nothing which he had not learned from personal observation; hence the book he produced is one of the truest records ever made in print. That quality, more than all others, is the one that has given to it everlasting life.



JOHN JAMES AUDUBON.

Back to these examples runs the spirit which has animated all the best writers on Nature whose books have crowded library shelves in recent years. Among contemporary writers, none perhaps has more completely shown that spirit than Ernest Ingersoll, during the quarter of a century in which he has been producing books that have charmed and instructed all who have



MR. FRANK M. CHAPMAN.

read them and of which the latest volume is "Wild Life of Orchard and Field." In this volume Mr. Ingersoll supports the pleasing theme that, while the advance of civilization has driven back into the forest and the jungle the wilder and more savage animals, it has led smaller creatures, such as birds, to accept man's presence as a blessing and thus to make friends with him.

The subject of birds has indeed been about the most fruitful in all this growth of literature pertaining to outdoor life. Neltje Blanchan's volumes, "Bird Neighbors" and "Birds That Hunt and Are Hunted," are notable in this line beyond most bird-books, not alone for their wide circulation, but for the illustrative distinction with which they were presented. How much they have done to spread knowledge of a delightful subject we need not attempt to estimate. It is enough to say that a large debt has been contracted by the public for the intelligent and effective work Mrs. Doubleday has done.

An obligation of similar nature has been contracted with Mr. Frank M. Chapman whose "Bird Life" has gone into many editions, the latest of these having the honor of illustrations reproduced in color from drawings by Ernest



MABEL OSGOOD WRIGHT.

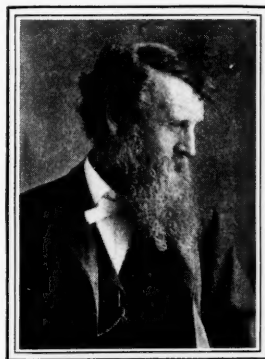
Seton. Upward of one hundred families of Eastern North American birds are illustrated in this volume. The chief benefit that has resulted from books like Mr. Chapman's and Mrs. Doubleday's is that they enable men and women who are ignorant of the names and habits of the birds about them, to learn to recognize them and understand their ways of life.

Another volume whose influence is becoming potent in the same direction is Francis H. Herrick's "Home Life of Wild Birds," in which a life record of feathered songsters is given, or a sort of diary of their behavior from day to day. He has made this record assisted by his camera, so that his information is nearly all original. He has, therefore, followed methods of the best historians by going to primary sources.

In the domain of flowers work of much note has been performed by Mrs. William Starr Dana, or, as she is known since her second marriage, Mrs. Frances Theodora Parsons, by Mabel Osgood Wright, and by F. Schuyler Mathews. Mrs. Parsons' first volume was almost an event among books of its class, and has had many followers, her own book still holding its place, however, as a standard contribution in constant demand. Her later book, "According to Season," revised and extended from time to time,—the latest editions being fully illustrated with colors,—was constructed on lines so unconventional and with such regard for the needs of those who love flowers, that its vogue has been general. The authoress, as her title indicates, described flow-

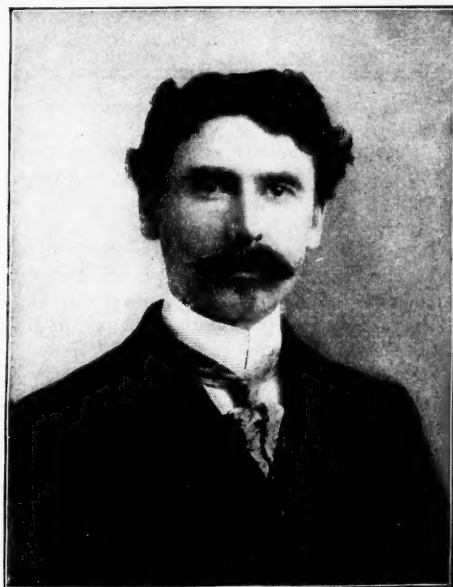
ers in the order of their appearance in woods and fields, and she wrote of these as one who was their lover.

Mrs. Wright, who had already achieved success with "Birdcraft," "Citizen Bird," "The Friendship of Nature," and other books, wrote of "Flowers and Ferns in their Haunts," her purpose being to treat those objects in their relations to the landscape. Her book, therefore, is a handbook of flowers and ferns in their natural surroundings. Indeed, her thesis was that half the beauty of these objects lies in the environment where they came into life, and of which they form such brilliant parts.



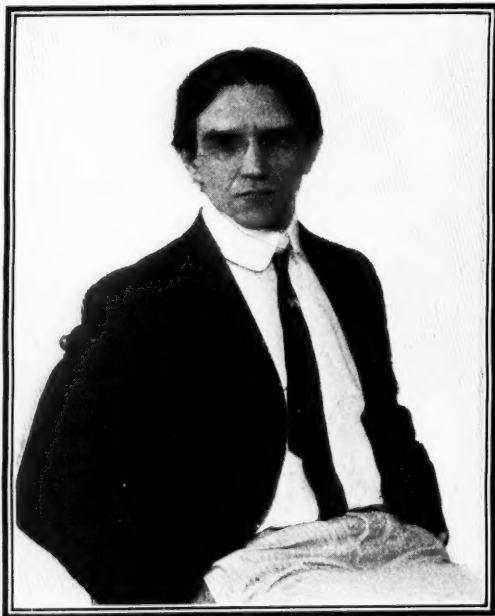
MR. JOHN MUIR.

Mr. Mathews, on a plan distinctly different from either of these writers, has produced books quite as interesting as theirs, and to which a cordial welcome has been accorded by the public. "Familiar Flowers of Field and Garden" was first issued without distinction as to illustrations, but its



ERNEST SETON.

popularity has called for later editions in which orthochromatic photographs have been employed with over two hundred other pictures from drawings by the author. Two other notable works from the same hands are "Field Book of American Wild Flowers," in which pictures and text are given on opposite pages, and "Familiar Trees and Their Leaves," in which, with much popular information, is combined such interesting statements of facts as that a large sugar maple



MR. CHARLES G. D. ROBERTS.

will put forth in a single season as many as 430,000 leaves from which to draw into itself the warmth, light, and air, without which it could not live.

Meanwhile, more than one writer has given the public charming volumes on cultivated flowers. Some of them have come from English hands, and here again women have made important contributions. One of the latest books of this class is "How the Garden Grew," by Maud Meryon, who has the courage to confess her failures as well as her successes. Eternal vigilance in gardening, as in many other pursuits, is the price of success, and this we constantly learn from the authoress's pages. In our own country Alice Morse Earle, whose writings of Colonial and Revolutionary times have become widely appreciated, has produced one of the most delightful of books in "Old Time Gardens," of which the repute will widen with the

passing of time. It is now not more than half a year old.

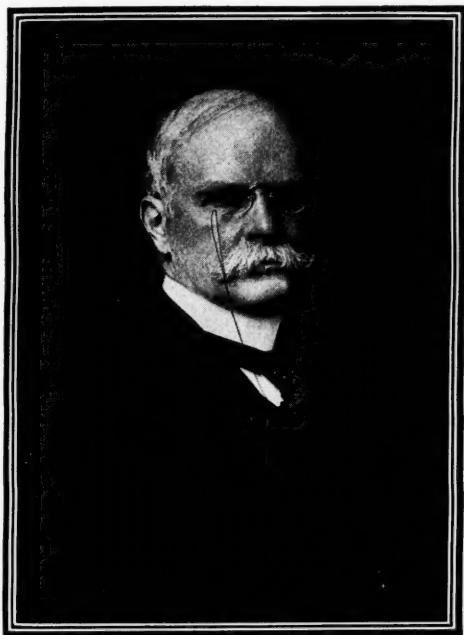
In the domain of animal life apart from birds our present best known name is Mr. Ernest Seton, whose books have almost rivaled in sales some of the popular novels of the day. Merely to mention them is to recall to many minds the most familiar of titles, "Wild Animals I Have Known," "The Trail of the Sand Hill Stag," and "Lives of the Hunted." Mr. Seton's success was achieved on legitimate lines. It was not through clever advertising that "Wild Animals I Have Known" soon became as familiar on object in shop windows as "Quo Vadis" or "Trilby." It made its way distinctly on its merits, as an authentic record of things known and seen,—things no one else had known so intimately, seen so accurately, and described so delightfully.

Reference should here be made to the invasion of the novelist's field made by Nature-study, as exemplified in the writings of James Lane Allen. Mr. Seton's books remind one that another writer should also be named.—Charles G. D. Roberts, whose "Kindred of the Wild" is really a book of animal life. And yet his book is to be classed as fiction; from which may be inferred the originality displayed in its conception. Eagles, panthers, moose, and other creatures of the forest throng his pages.

No attempt can be made in this article to catalogue the throng of books on outdoor life which have become popular in late years, and which illustrate the awakened interest in Nature of which at the beginning I spoke. But mention should certainly be made of John Henry Comstock's "Insect Life," with many illustrations from the hands of his wife, Anna Botsford Comstock; of Mary Rogers Miller, who wrote "The Brook Book;" and of Martha McCulloch Williams, and A. R. Dugmore.

Nor shall I overlook the valiant work done by John Muir in his pleas for the forests, his description of the great trees of California, and, above all, in his "Our National Parks," in which he not only discloses his knowledge of trees, but of geology, and writes with distinction, charm, and affection. A work which also may be named here, and named for praise only, is "A Journey to Nature," by J. P. Mowbray, who, when wearied with toil in town and city, and possessed no less by a scientific spirit than by real gratitude for all that God has done to make the earth habitable and beautiful for man, literally made a journey back to Nature, and in this book records all that he saw and felt.

The present demand for books of Nature,



JAMES LANE ALLEN.

such as I have here named, shows how striking a change has occurred in the character of books people now read in summer. Formerly, the sole books properly to be called summer reading were works of fiction—those badly printed, paper-covered novels that were everywhere seen. Novels themselves, as I have said, pay tribute to Nature-books. Some of the most successful of them have owed no small part of their vogue to the fine feeling for Nature which their writers displayed. Perhaps the most notable example of this (and certainly the most exquisite) are found in the writings of Mr. Allen, and notably in "The Choir Invisible," where the story is not more charming than the rare picture given of wild nature in forest lands. None but a profound lover of the forest and of the creatures that people it ever could have written that book.

Were we to seek for the causes of this change in taste among readers we should find the most potent one to be the strong tide of population that has turned toward cities. We have be-

fore us a condition that is little more than a reaction or a return to a first love. This reading of Nature-books is part of the consequences of the impulse which each year drives more and more city people to spend longer seasons in the country. With the delights of this migration from brick walls to velvet lawns and shaded woods has come this interest in the flowers, shrubs, and trees of the forest; in wild game that live there; in the fish of streams; and in the birds of the air. We have, therefore, in literature only a part of the consequence of that potent influence which made the bicycle so recently popular, and which now has made myriads of devotees of golf.

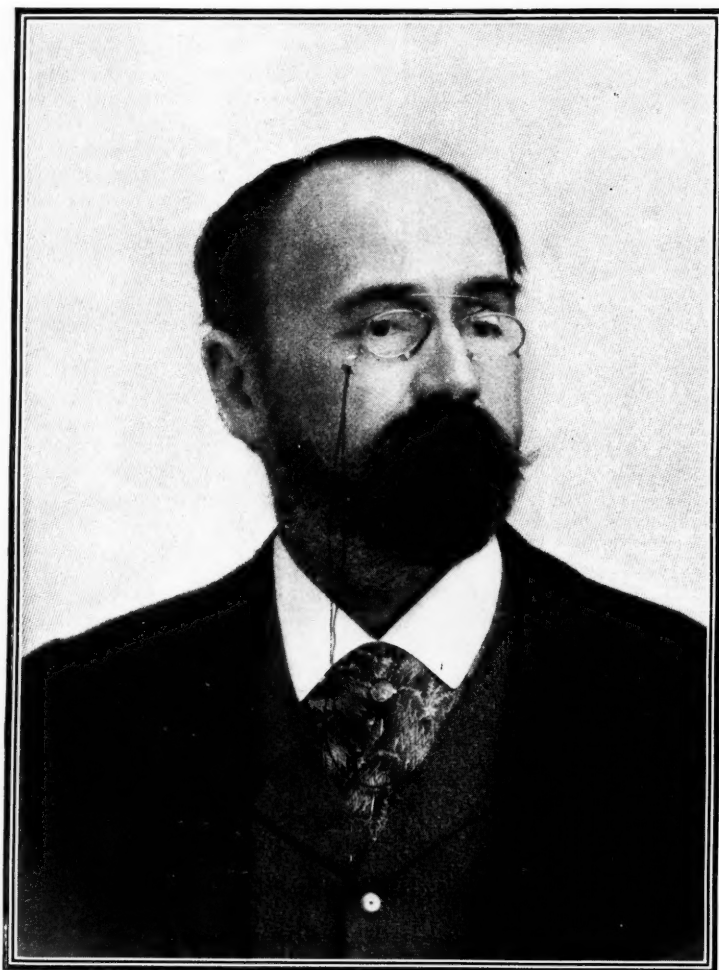
An interesting outcome of this whole subject has just appeared in England. Nature study has become in that country a popular educational fad, and the recent "Nature Study Exhibition," held in the Royal Botanical Gardens in London, has awakened so much interest from its novelty and its suggestiveness, that there are enthusiasts who predict that it will lead to an entirely new educational movement. It is even predicted that text-books, as a main means to an education, are doomed, the open book of Nature being the volume which in future will be most industriously and profitably thumbed.

With how much care the publishers have responded to this demand the present article has pointed out in a suggestive way only. The authors who have been mentioned are not more numerous than those who have been omitted. My aim has been neither to indicate the most successful nor the most familiar, but rather those who could perhaps best illustrate the various lines on which activity in the production of nature books has proceeded.

Nor has anything been said of the manufacturing side of these books. That in itself might be the subject of an extended article, for here again one meets with revolutionary conditions. They are part only of that complete change which one sees to have taken place in the making of all books intended for popular reading. Larger type, better paper, more numerous illustrations, specially designed covers, and a general improvement in the art side of all parts of books have made many of them beautiful when considered merely as the products of a factory.



EMILE ZOLA.



THE LATE EMILE ZOLA.

ONE of the hardest workers and most popular authors of our time passed suddenly from our midst at the end of last month. There are many opinions concerning the political and ethical value of much of Zola's work, but there can be no difference of opinion as to the immense industry, marvelous fertility, and lofty aim of the French novelist, who was asphyxiated in his own chamber by the fumes of his own stove.

There are novelists of many kinds, but M. Zola was one of the rarest—namely, a journalist-

novelist, a man who is by nature a supreme special correspondent or newspaper-investigator, who, after completing an exhaustive first-hand investigation into some phase of human life, instead of embodying it in a series of special articles, presents his report in the shape of a novel. There are social investigators as painstaking as Zola; there are men of letters who write more brilliant novels; but no one hitherto has combined to the same extent the capacity for rapid but patient study of social, moral, and political questions with the capacity to express the results

of his investigations in the form of a popular romance. The serious side of him, and the earnest purpose which inspired his life-work, were obscured in the minds of many English readers by the license which he allowed himself in dealing with the seamy side of human nature. Yet, let it never be forgotten that the greatest of all living novelists,—and one who is not merely a novelist, but a great preacher of the loftiest and almost transcendental morality,—has paid emphatic tribute to the worth of Zola's works. Count Tolstoy declared that, in his opinion, Zola was almost the only man who was doing serious work in France among the innumerable swarm of her novelists.

"The pictures which he paints are not agreeable," said his great Russian contemporary. "His portrait of the miner and the peasant are not pleasant to hang on your chamber walls; but it is good that they should have been painted once for all—having been painted, you can hang them behind your door or put their faces to the wall; but it is well that we should be reminded of the conditions in which multitudes of our brothers live."

The novelist's father, François Zola, was a Venetian, the mother a Greek. Emile was born April 2, 1840, at Paris, and spent his childhood at Aix. The father died when Emile was seven years old, and the Zola family was finally, in 1858, driven by extreme poverty to Paris. The young man lived here in absolute squalor, until, at the age of twenty-two, he obtained a clerkship with M. Hachette, the publisher. His first volume was a collection of fanciful stories, "*Contes a Ninon*." In 1865, he began to write for the press. After several novels appeared with moderate success, "*Thérèse Raquin*," published in 1867, obtained an immense circulation, and gave the author a good start on the path to fame and fortune. M. Zola's later work gave him a very large income.

Zola, at the beginning of life, seems to have been seized by a loftier ambition than that which inspires the pens of most of our writing folk. In the Rougon-Macquart series he attempted to portray in a series of vividly-colored stereoscopic views the whole complex life of modern society. A lofty idealist he was not; a painstaking realist he was; and he equipped himself for his herculean task by most painstaking and conscientious labor. At the beginning of his career he aimed at nothing more than the reproduction, as in a colored photograph, of life as he found it palpitating around him in the boulevards, streets and alleys, and fields, of France. But in his later years there was witnessed the gradual evolution of the artist into the prophet or moralist. In

one of his latest works, "*Fécondité*," he attacked the limitation of families and the resulting organized infanticide which prevails in France, with all the fervor of a Hebrew seer. His book, which he devoted to a study of labor in Paris, and his extraordinarily accurate delineation of contemporary life in the Eternal City, showed the same tendency to subordinate the mere storyteller to the ethical teacher and social reformer. This, probably, reached its ultimate development in his last book on "*Work*"—a novel surcharged with gloom and serious to the point of dullness. Perhaps for that reason none of his later books attained anything approaching the vogue of the earlier volumes of the Rougon-Macquart series.

Only in "*La Réve*" did he attempt a purely idyllic work. In "*La Débâcle*" he ventured upon the field of the historical novelist, and produced a picture of the gory welter of confusion in which the Second Empire went down that can never be forgotten by any one who read it. Lourdes attracted him also, and in his novel of that name he dealt with that mystical side of life which can be studied round the shrine of Notre Dame de Lourdes, with more sympathy and insight than might have been expected in the author of "*Nana*" and "*La Terre*." But even "*Nana*"—a novel in which he sets himself to delineate the life of the Parisian prostitute—was miles removed from the ordinary pornographic putridity which is served up by some revelers in the roses and raptures of vice. It is a great sermon on the text in the Old Book, in which, speaking of the "*Strange Woman*," it is said of the visitor to her house: "He knoweth not that the dead are there, and that her guests are in the depths of hell."

The fame of Zola as a novelist, however, has in the last few years been somewhat eclipsed by the fame of the author of "*J'Accuse*." His sudden intervention in the Dreyfus controversy is still fresh in the memory. His famous indictment of the organized machinery of perjury, and the military conspiracy by which justice was denied to the prisoner in Devil's Island, was a great service rendered to the cause of humanity. It was a thankless, and even a dangerous, task to plunge into the midst of the turbulent arena in which every one who spoke for justice was denounced as a traitor to his country. Like Professor Virchow, he was one of the earliest adherents of the International Union; like him, he appended his signature to the international protest against the South African War. His death removes one of the half-dozen men of letters whose names are familiar as household words throughout the whole civilized world.

THE GROWTH OF TRUST COMPANIES.

BY CHARLES A. CONANT.

THE trust company is essentially an American institution. It was correctly declared by Mr. Charles F. Phillips at the last meeting of the American Bankers' Association that, "In the strict sense of the term, there are no trust companies in Europe or the Orient, and none in the Latin-American countries, barring the Mexican Trust Company, a purely American foundation, and one or two others, all in a nascent state; nor, so far as I am aware, have corporations, anywhere outside the United States and some portions of Canada, yet undertaken to do, in a conjoint and aggregate form, any substantial portion of the work which is customarily and regularly performed by the trust companies in our midst."

The growth of the business of trust companies during the last few years has partaken of the prosperity which has come to many other American enterprises. This is plain from the statistics of their numbers, deposits, and resources, as reported to the Comptroller of the Currency, and set forth below for representative years:

TRUST COMPANIES OF THE UNITED STATES.

Year.	Number.	Capital.	Individual deposits.
1891.....	171	\$79,292,889	\$355,330,080
1897.....	251	106,968,253	566,922,205
1901.....	334	157,361,704	1,271,081,174
1902.....	417	179,732,581	1,325,887,493

Here is a multiplication within ten years of the individual deposits of trust companies by more than four times, or an increase of more than 300 per cent. Even within the brief period of five years the increase has been more than 150 per cent. The total resources of the New York trust companies were \$300,765,575 on January 1, 1892. They rose slowly during the next five years to \$396,742,947 at the beginning of 1897, and then went up by bounds to \$579,205,442 on January 1, 1899, and to \$797,983,512 on January 1, 1901. The figures for the beginning of 1902 showed another advance of nearly \$200,000,000, making the total resources \$969,403,911, and those for the first half of 1902 indicate a like progress. The total deposits of the trust companies of the State of New York on June 30, 1902, were \$887,001,687, and the total resources were \$1,078,212,685. How this progress compares in New York City with that

of the Clearing House banks may be seen from the following figures of individual deposits:

DEPOSITS IN NEW YORK CITY BANKS.

	June 26, 1897.	June 30, 1902.
Clearing House banks.....	\$597,100,000	\$960,246,000
Trust companies.....	305,354,638	760,776,124

These figures show that while the deposits of the Clearing House banks of New York City have increased about 40 per cent. in five years, those of the trust companies have increased about 150 per cent. Percentages in such cases are sometimes deceptive. The trust companies first began to obtain importance about a decade ago, and it is not surprising that they have gained ground rapidly during the recent period of industrial activity. The real measure of their progress is afforded by the fact that while the Clearing House banks of New York, with their long-established reputations and great resources, have in five years increased their deposits about \$363,000,000, the trust companies of the city have increased theirs by the still larger sum of \$455,000,000. Throughout the United States the business of the trust companies, although their form of organization is limited to a small number of States, has shown a striking growth. The deposits of all national banks and trust companies appear in the following table:

INDIVIDUAL DEPOSITS IN BANKS OF THE UNITED STATES.

	June 30, 1897.	June 30, 1901.
National banks.....	\$1,770,480,563	\$2,941,837,428
State banks.....	723,640,795	1,610,502,246
Loan and trust companies...	566,922,205	1,271,081,174

TRUST COMPANIES AS TRUSTEES.

In view of this remarkable exhibit of the growth in the business and resources of trust companies, it becomes interesting to inquire what are these institutions, and what is the nature of the work which they are doing. Such an inquiry naturally centers around the answers to such questions as these:

What are the special functions of trust companies?

Wherein do these functions differ from those of commercial banks?

Are trust companies competing unduly with other banks?

Should any new restrictions be imposed upon the organization and management of trust companies?

In answer to the first question, it may be said generally that the functions of trust companies are to execute trusts for individuals, living and dead, and for estates and corporations.

When a rich man dies in the United States he is enabled to commit to a trust company the often complex duties of administering his estate, instead of appealing to the favor of relatives or friends. The company holds a copy of the will, sells and buys property under orders of the courts, collects regularly rents for real estate and dividends on securities, and pays such dividends over, according to the terms of the will, to the legal heirs. In most of the States of the American Union much freedom prevails in devising property by will. A husband who distrusts the capacity of his wife or children to administer their property with prudence after his death may put the property in the hands of a trust company, and direct that the income only shall be paid to his heirs. Widows are thus guarded against the anxiety and loss which they might suffer if they undertook to administer the property for themselves; improvident sons are prevented from squandering the principal of their estates; and charitable bequests and other public benefactions are carried out in a regular and lawful manner. These functions are the same as those which were formerly performed in this country, and are still performed abroad, by attorneys, personal friends of the deceased, and other executors and administrators; but their performance by a trust company according to prescribed methods insures greater regularity of procedure, and in many cases greater safety, economy in management, and more strict compliance with law.

One of the primary advantages of committing the charge of estates in this manner to a trust company is that its life is continuous, and its responsibility is that of a corporate body of large resources, instead of the personal liability of an individual. It is a peculiar advantage of employing a trust company in the management of estates that such companies are organized especially for carrying on this class of business. It is their primary concern, and is not subordinate to other interests, as is sometimes the case with individuals having other occupations, however high their standing and strict their probity. The trust company necessarily has offices devoted exclusively to its business, with proper vaults for keeping securities and prescribed methods

for carrying on each branch of its duties. It has separate accounts for each trust, it has books showing when the interest should be collected on the securities held, and it takes prompt and constant notice, through its observations of the stock market, of influences affecting trust funds adversely, which may suggest a change in the character of investments.

CAREFUL MANAGEMENT ASSURED.

The uniformity of methods imposed by law and by financial custom upon the trust companies leads them to exercise their functions with extreme care. A trust company is not likely to assume responsibilities of a doubtful character without the order of a court, careful deliberation by its own officers, or the opinion of counsel. Some of the ablest financiers and attorneys of the United States act as advisers for the trust companies of New York and other large cities. Two Secretaries of the Treasury have become heads of New York trust companies on leaving office,—Mr. Charles S. Fairchild of the New York Security and Trust Company, and Mr. Lyman J. Gage of the United States Trust Company, whose offices face each other on opposite sides of Wall Street. Secretary Root was the counsel for the Morton Trust Company of New York before he became head of the War Department, and former Vice-President Morton is its president. No step is taken involving an important question of law without the advice of men of this character as executive officers and counsel. Their ability and researches are brought to bear upon a doubtful question affecting a small estate in the same manner as in the case of a large estate, because of the importance to the company of deciding correctly the principle involved.

The solvency and sound management of the trust company, especially in such important commercial States as New York and Massachusetts, are insured by the rigid system of inspection provided by the laws of the States. All the books, papers, memoranda, and cash reserves of a trust company in the State of New York are open to the examination of State officials, appointed for the purpose, at any moment and without notice.

BANKING FUNCTIONS.

The explanation already made regarding the functions of trust companies in relation to individuals and estate answers to a considerable extent the second question, Wherein do trust companies differ from commercial banks? The advantages derived by an individual or an estate from employing a trust company to execute

important trusts naturally commend themselves to a corporation having similar trusts to be executed. The work of reorganizing old corporations and organizing new ones, taking up old securities and issuing new, which has been made necessary by the new enterprises, the consolidations, and the "mergers" of the last few years, has fallen in a large measure to the trust companies of New York and one or two other large cities. While individuals connected with these companies have, in some cases, been active in initiating these projects, the companies in their corporate capacity have performed merely ministerial and strictly legal duties in executing the trusts committed to them. The stronger trust companies of New York have been very chary of committing themselves officially to new flotations. Some of the more conservative make it a point not to float shares, however good, but limit themselves to bonds, which have priority of lien upon the property upon which they are secured.

The national banks act to some extent as the agents of corporations in the mere transfer of the ownership of securities and the payment of dividends. In the case of the formation of a new corporation, however, or an important change in the character of the securities issued by an old one, a trust company is usually chosen as the agent of the transaction. This is because the trust companies are organized for this work, have officers and attorneys familiar with the legal points involved, and are therefore enabled to render the service with economy, precision, and the certainty of conforming strictly to law. The New York law regarding the incorporation of trust companies confers these specific powers, among others, upon such companies:

1. To act as the fiscal or transfer agent of any State, municipality, body politic, or corporation, and in such capacity to receive and disburse money, and transfer, register, and countersign certificates of stock, bonds, or other evidences of indebtedness.

2. To receive deposits of trust moneys, securities, and other personal property from any person or corporation, and to loan money on real or personal securities.

4. To act as trustee under any mortgage or bond issued by any municipality, body politic, or corporation, and accept and execute any other municipal or corporate trust not inconsistent with the laws of this State.

7. To take, accept, and execute any and all such legal trusts, duties, and powers in regard to the holding, management, and disposition of any estate, real or personal, and the rents and profits thereof, or the sale thereof, as may be granted or confided to it by any court of record, or by any person, corporation, municipality, or other authority; and it shall be accountable to all

parties in interest for the faithful discharge of every such trust, duty, or power which it may so accept.

If the Northern Securities Company, for instance, should desire to issue new securities in exchange for those of the Northern Pacific Railway, a trust company would be the agent naturally chosen as the intermediary in the transaction. It would receive the old bonds from their holders, issue receipts for the bonds, and later issue the new bonds to those who brought back their receipts. If money were to be paid on either side, it would be distributed by the trust company. The company, acting under the best legal advice, without prejudice toward either party, complying strictly with the terms of the agreement as interpreted by the most competent legal talent, thus acts as a guardian for the interests of the public on the one hand and the corporation on the other. The peculiar province of the national banks is the lending of their deposits upon commercial paper and the issue of circulating notes. It was chiefly for the latter purpose that they were originally sanctioned by law, much as this function has been atrophied by a clumsy system of security for note issues. How different are the functions of the national banks from those of the trust companies may be inferred from comparing the provisions of the New York law, already given, with the provisions of the national banking law, that a national bank may exercise—

All such incidental powers as shall be necessary to carry on the business of banking; by discounting and negotiating promissory notes, drafts, bills of exchange, and other evidences of debt; by receiving deposits; by buying and selling exchange, coin, and bullion; by loaning money on personal security; and by obtaining, issuing, and circulating notes, etc.

ACCEPTANCE OF DEPOSITS.

The powers and activities of the two classes of corporations,—trust companies and national banks,—trench upon each other in some directions, but it is obvious that each has separate fields, which are not likely to be entered by the other. The field in which the competition of the trust companies with national banks has attracted the most attention is probably the acceptance of deposits and the use of these deposits in the loan market. The acceptance of deposits by trust companies was at first limited largely to deposits which were not likely to be the subject of frequent transactions. In many cases it was specified that the deposit should be left in the hands of the company for a fixed time, and deposit receipts were given instead of ordinary pass books.

When money was left in the custody of the company under these conditions, such large provision was not required for reserves, as in the case of money subject constantly to be withdrawn by checks. The opportunity for its continued use by the trust company permitted, moreover, the payment of a fair rate of interest. Hence, trust companies generally paid interest to individual depositors ranging from 1 to 3 per cent., according to the nature of the deposit. This policy attracted large deposits, especially from trustees holding funds in anticipation of some fixed event and corporations desiring to keep certain cash reserves in addition to their current working accounts. Gradually large corporations, discovering the advantages of keeping interest-bearing deposits with trust companies, increased the amount of such deposits and secured the acceptance of active accounts at a less rate of interest than that paid on the more permanent deposits. The trust companies have been thus placed in possession of great resources, which increase their ability to handle conversion projects for railway and industrial corporations, and afford them a considerable fund which they are able to utilize in short-term loans.

NATURE OF LOANS.

Most of these loans are made on call,—that is, subject to repayment whenever notice is given to the borrower. According to the etiquette of New York trust companies, a mere telephone message to a borrower is sufficient to secure the repayment of a loan; but it is a matter of banking courtesy that such messages shall go out about noon in order to give the borrower an interval before the close of banking hours to transfer his loan to another bank or company or find the money to pay it off. The greatest conservatism is shown by the best New York companies in making these stock loans. They allow a margin of about 20 per cent. between the market value of the securities and the amount loaned. They are far from accepting as collateral for loans all the classes of securities which are on the market. In most cases, moreover, a variety of securities is required to protect each loan, so that a shrinkage on one would be covered by the solidity of the remaining securities. It has been declared by officers of leading New York trust companies that not a dollar has been lost by them upon these secured stock loans.

The trust companies differ from the national banks in the character of the loans made. They trench little upon the field of the national banks in discounting the paper of merchants based upon mercantile transactions. This is a very

important field of banking, has a close relation to the volume of currency required by trade, and is the field which the national banks, when they were first authorized, were expected to occupy. The larger portion of national banking business is still of this sort, and it has grown greatly within the past five years. There has undoubtedly been a feeling here and there, however, that the national banks, since the rise of the trust companies, were relatively losing deposits and losing their share in the large operations which some of the trust companies have found so profitable. It may be said on this head that as much depends upon the personality of the banker as upon the form of banking organization. If a few captains of finance in New York have shown peculiar capacity for drawing to certain trust companies a large volume of business, it is highly probable that the same men would have accomplished similar results through a State bank, a national bank, or a private corporation if the trust-company organization had not been directly open to them by law. It is no secret among intelligent bankers that the trust companies which have made the largest profits have not derived those profits from the mere routine of banking. Trust-company profits have been derived chiefly from the skill of their officers in financing important combinations and aiding in the creation of new enterprises.

A trust company is better fitted by law and by the nature of its organization for work of this character than a national bank. A national bank has imposed upon it the function of safeguarding the currency. It is forbidden to intrust more than one-tenth of its capital to any single person, firm, or corporation. Its resources must be kept in such condition that they can be turned into money on the shortest possible notice. The same is true of such trust companies as pay their deposits on demand, but the trust companies hold many large deposits nominally subject to payment on demand, but which they know are not likely to be called for. If a few drafts are made upon such deposits, they have ample resources for meeting them in their cash deposits with the national banks.

THE QUESTION OF CASH RESERVES.

The subject of bending the trust companies to the same rules as those which govern the New York Clearing House banks has been more or less discussed since the growth of the trust companies has made them an important factor in the banking resources of New York. One of the propositions which has been most seriously discussed has been that the trust companies should be required to keep something like the same cash

reserves as the national banks. The national banks of New York are required by law to keep in currency an amount equal to 25 per cent. of their deposits, and the State banks which are members of the Clearing House are compelled to conform to the same rule. The state of this cash reserve,—whether there is a large surplus reserve, or whether it is near the legal minimum,—is one of the barometers of New York money-market conditions which always receives the most attentive study at home and abroad. The trust companies have heretofore kept such reserves as, in the opinion of their officers, were required to meet demands upon them; but they have in most instances kept the bulk of these reserves on deposit in national banks. A check upon a national bank deposit is usually more acceptable to one of their clients in a large transaction than would be a roll of bills or a keg of gold. For smaller demands from their clients for pocket money the trust companies keep such cash on hand as they find necessary, but they have fewer active accounts of this sort than the national banks, and few large demands are made upon them for actual currency.

The national banks of the cities enjoy an important privilege which is not granted to the trust companies. Outside of New York, the national banks are permitted to deposit one-half or more of their reserve in the national banks of New York, and to count such deposits as cash on hand. An enormous volume of such deposits is carried by the national banks, and they have greatly increased within ten years, as may be seen by the following table:

OBLIGATIONS OF NATIONAL BANKS TO OTHER BANKS.

Date.	To national banks.	To State and private banks and trust companies.
July 12, 1892.....	\$367,143,324	\$188,683,254
July 23, 1897.....	388,117,906	208,876,900
July 15, 1901.....	645,038,393	526,151,801
July 16, 1902.....	626,954,587	582,102,814

It is obvious from these figures that the national banks have profited greatly within the past five years in their command over the resources of their fellows in the national banking system, and that they have had voluntarily intrusted to them a large share of the cash of the State banks and trust companies. It is naturally contended on behalf of the trust companies that they should not be burdened with any such reserve requirements as are imposed upon the national banks, unless they are granted the privilege of receiving the deposits of the national banks of the country, and the latter are

permitted to count such deposits as a part of their lawful reserves. The officers of the strongest trust companies would probably be glad to comply with the requirement that they should keep a reasonable reserve in proportion to their deposits. Such a requirement would be rigidly complied with, and if it imposed burdens upon the weaker companies which wiped out their slender profits, it would not be a source of regret to the stronger companies to see establishments driven from the field which may not be hardy enough to weather the financial storms which the future undoubtedly has in store.

A reserve of 15 per cent. of deposits would be more than sufficient to meet all possible demands upon the trust companies, and at least half of this reserve, if not two-thirds, might properly be kept on deposit in national banks. Fifteen per cent. of \$1,271,081,174,—the deposits of the trust companies of the United States in 1901,—would be about \$190,000,000. The trust companies actually had due to them from other banks \$191,527,201,—an amount almost exactly sufficient to meet a 15 per cent. reserve requirement. They had also cash to the amount of \$24,810,203,—only about 2 per cent. of their deposit obligations. The requirement that they should keep 15 per cent. in currency locked up in their own vaults would mean that they should withdraw nearly \$167,000,000 from other banks, and practically withdraw that much money from the use of the market. Several of the strongest trust companies in New York already meet the requirement that they shall keep a reserve equal to 15 per cent. of their deposits, but keep most of it in other banks. Thus, on June 30, 1902, the Morton Trust Company, with deposits of \$51,517,694, had a reserve of \$11,659,890; the Mercantile Trust Company, with deposits of \$55,236,450, had a reserve of \$12,586,132; and the New York Security and Trust Company, with deposits of \$49,407,985, had a reserve of \$5,548,632.

The second of the requirements referred to,—that a trust company should keep one-third or one-half of its reserve in its own vaults,—could not be enforced, except after long previous notice, without serious effects upon the money market. With total deposits in New York City of about \$750,000,000, a reserve of 15 per cent. would be about \$112,500,000, half of which would be about \$56,250,000. The total reserves of the trust companies in the city of New York on June 30, 1902, were \$114,383,820, but of this amount only \$8,328,110 was in currency in their hands. In order to comply with such a requirement as has been suggested above, it would be necessary to withdraw nearly \$50,000,000 in

currency from actual use and lock it up in gold, silver, and greenbacks in the vaults of the trust companies.

Fears have sometimes been expressed that the keeping of trust-company reserves on deposit in national banks, instead of in actual currency in their own vaults, tended, along with other recent developments, to rear a structure of credit too lofty for the slender foundation of currency at its base. Comparison with the British system, however, is distinctly favorable to the solidity of conditions in New York. The reserves of the New York Clearing House banks for the week ending October 11, 1902, were \$219,612,500. This reserve is distributed among fifty-nine different institutions, and the proportion of reserve is, on the whole, much larger than that held under the monetary system of Great Britain. In London the reserve in actual cash is held entirely by the Bank of England. Other banks content themselves with keeping in their own custody only such little cash as may be required for daily retail needs, known as "till money." The joint-stock banks keep deposits with the Bank of England, and the private and country banks keep deposits with the joint-stock banks. The system thus depends absolutely upon the solidity of a single institution,—the Bank of England. The British system has the advantage of economy in the use of money, but the American system is more exacting in its safeguards. As the London *Statist* remarked last spring, "Were the New York banks permitted to work with as small a margin of actual cash against liabilities as we do in this country, they would be able to greatly increase their loans and their deposits."

How far the demand for arbitrarily fixed reserves is a matter of sentiment has been shown by the effect of the recent action of Secretary Shaw in seeking to relieve the pressure on the money market. By a stroke of his pen he decided that he would permit national banks to hold deposits of government funds, without keeping against such deposits the reserves of 15 per cent. or 25 per cent. required against other classes of deposits. By this measure, it was announced, the loaning power of the banks would be increased by about \$130,000,000. It is obvious that, from the standpoint of sound banking, the banks were no stronger after this announcement than before. If they needed a 25 per cent. reserve against gross deposits, the Secretary was wrong in suspending the requirement; if they did not need it, the public was wrong in feeling alarm when reserves against gross deposits, before the Secretary's action, fell below 25 per cent. The true banking rule is

that a banking institution shall pay legal-tender money upon its deposit and note obligations whenever such money is demanded, whether its reserve be 1 per cent. or 100 per cent. The bank answers with its life for its ability to do this, and the necessity that it shall live exerts a more constant and potent pressure upon its officers than the requirement that unused money shall be piled up in reserve funds. In the national banking system, with its hundreds of banks with small capital scattered over forty-five States, legal regulation of reserves is a matter of prudence and public convenience. In some of the States such regulation may be justified upon the same grounds, but it is necessary in inverse ratio to the degree of financial progress of the community and the importance of the stake of its financial leaders in the soundness and solvency of their enterprises.

If a specific reserve requirement is necessary for the prudent conduct of trust companies or the safety of the market, it should be imposed. It is obvious, however, that it could not be complied with suddenly without causing a convulsion in the money market. It could not be done under any circumstances except at considerable cost, which would not fall upon the trust companies, but upon the public. The community would be deprived of the use of \$50,000,000 of its working capital or be compelled to import that amount to make good the amount withdrawn from active use. It would amount practically to setting aside and locking up that much gold, to lie idle or to be used only in great emergencies, like those for which the war treasure of \$30,000,000 is so sacredly guarded by the German Emperor in the fortress of Spandau.

If the privileges enjoyed by either the national banks or the trust companies involve danger or disadvantage to the community, or if they threaten to drive one class of institutions out of existence, they should be restricted. The national banks and the trust companies, however, while they trench to some extent on each other's fields, each have functions to perform which differ from those of the other. It would be extremely harmful to chain either class of institutions upon a Procrustean bed of regulations or burdens, suited perhaps to one and not suited to the other. The national banking law could probably be amended to advantage in a direction which would give greater scope to the national banks in doing business; but it would be a step in the wrong direction to extend the restrictions imposed upon them, if they have been found burdensome, to a class of institutions which has contributed so much as the trust companies to the industrial triumphs of America in recent years

SELF-GOVERNMENT IN ORIENTAL DEPENDENCIES.

BY JEREMIAH W. JENKS.

SO much, both good and bad, has been said during the last year regarding our treatment of the Filipinos in political affairs, that it is interesting to see how our work compares with that of other nations who have for many years been dealing with Oriental peoples. It may be worth while, also, to state clearly how much we have already actually done in the way of giving self-government to the Filipinos. Naturally, the countries to be considered are primarily the English and Dutch dependencies in the Orient.

BRITISH INDIA.

It should be recognized at the outset that in their home government the English are a liberal, free, self-governing people; considerably more so than any other people in Europe, with the exception of the Swiss. While England is called a monarchy, every one with even an elementary knowledge of politics knows that the will of the people rules England much more completely than it can be said to rule France, and that not a few writers and thinkers are convinced that public opinion controls in governmental affairs more directly and more thoroughly in England than even in the United States. That is not my opinion. The idea of self-government is, in my judgment, carried out more completely in Switzerland than in any other country in the world; next comes the United States; then, England and her self-governing colonies. But the idea of self-government is more generally recognized and more completely carried out in practice by the English than by any other people, excepting the Swiss and the American.

In some matters of public policy, however, the English are to be placed even first as regards liberality and the encouragement of the idea of freedom. One need but mention commercial freedom and the readiness which the English have shown to leave the people to fight out their own salvation, both at home and in the colonies. So fearful, indeed, is England of putting restrictions of any kind upon trade that certainly most Americans, and probably most Europeans, think her colonies in the Far East should often be criticised severely for their

laxity in enforcing even quarantine and other health regulations. No greater contrast can well be imagined than the prompt and rigid way in which the Americans at Manila and the Japanese at the southern ports of Japan have lately dealt with ships likely to bring cholera into the country, and the free way in which the ships entering Hongkong and Shanghai were treated, as well as the apparently culpable way in which, in those same places, persons having cholera were permitted their freedom. One man reports that in one forenoon's ride in Shanghai he saw eleven Chinese lying in the streets dead from cholera. Of course, one should not criticise without full knowledge, but appearances are certainly unfavorable. When speaking, therefore, of the English in their government of the colonies, we are speaking of a people whose inclinations are very strongly toward individual liberty; and wherever England has restricted sharply the liberty of a people there probably is, we may assume, some reason for such action.

In dealing with the question of the English in India we may at first overlook the native states; both because, without exception, the individual subject has less freedom under his native ruler, merely guided by an English adviser, than he has in British India, where the rule is directly through English officials; and, second, because we shall devote a section to them later.

PURPOSES OF THE GOVERNMENT.

Whatever may have been her plan earlier, England has clearly announced in later years the principle of her Indian policy to be, "India is to be governed for the good of the Indians." Doubtless, here and there, individual officials let this principle drop out of mind; doubtless, also, in times of emergency,—as under stress of war,—the English Government at home may feel that India should do her part in aiding the mother country; but, taken all-in-all, no careful observer who goes somewhat thoughtfully through India, meeting the officials of various grades, both English and native, and noting the details of their work and its results, can doubt that a conscientious effort is made to keep in the foreground the good of the natives rather than the profit of the mother country.

If this purpose does not result in granting self-government to the Indians, it is because those who have spent their lives in administering the affairs of India are conscientiously of the opinion that self-government would not prove beneficial to them. They may be mistaken; but they are earnestly striving to give to the Indians what is best for them. As seems to be the case with Lord Cromer in Egypt, they probably think that the natives do not always know what is best for them; but even the best informed natives do not advocate self-government.

THE FORMS OF GOVERNMENT.

So far as the central government goes, the people of India, as such, have nothing whatever to say regarding its policy. As is well known, the governing power under the laws made by the English legislative houses is the Secretary of State for India, assisted by the Council of India in London. This council consists of not less than ten members; at least nine of these must have served or resided ten years in India, and no one of them can have been away from India longer than ten years before the date of his appointment. This is surely a body of experts, made up of those whose sympathies are likely to be with the natives. Moreover, in the India Office the highest positions,—political, financial, administrative,—are held by men who have shown themselves able, conscientious, and successful in India itself; but they are not natives.

In India the governing body is the governor-general in council. The governor-general is appointed by the home government for a period of five years. He may or may not himself have had training in India; but his council, of five members and the commander-in-chief, is made up of experienced men, familiar with Indian conditions. For legislative purposes sixteen additional members are nominated by the governor-general. A representation of natives is always found in this legislative council, and no important act of government of a legislative nature can be taken without the knowledge and, generally speaking, the concurrence of this body. These members, however, are not representative of the people of India in the sense that they are chosen by the people, for all are appointed by the government.

As regards what we might in the United States consider State and local government, the condition is much the same. In Madras and Bombay the governors, and the lieutenant governors of other provinces, and their councils,—made up again of experienced men,—are all appointive, no place being filled by election. In the provinces whose heads are chief commissioners, the

situation is the same. Only in purely local and municipal affairs do the ordinary people have a voice in choosing their representatives.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

It has been the policy of England, speaking generally, to govern—as far as is consistent with good government—in accordance with the traditions and habits of the people. They have recognized that customs in government, as well as social customs, are likely in the long run to be a natural growth, and thus to have had a reason, at some time at any rate, for their existence. Where these customs are too strongly contrary to English good morals, as, for example, in the case of *suttee*,—the burning of widows on the funeral pyre of their husbands,—or of infanticide, the government has interfered and stopped the practices; otherwise, they are generally retained.

THE VILLAGE.

Although the customs differ considerably in different parts of India, ordinarily the village has for centuries been the unit of local government, with its headman either an hereditary official recognized by the over-chief, or, in individual cases, an official chosen by an election more or less formal. The headman has had under him in various cases assistants who took charge of the policing, or of the records, or of other work in connection with the village. The village blacksmith, barber, carpenter and other village servants have also held their positions by hereditary claim. In some instances,—for example, in Upper Burma,—when certain taxes are levied upon the village as a whole, the distribution of this tax among the different households has been made by the headman with the assistance of councilors elected by the village. In practically all cases these customs have been retained by the English, with the requirement that all hereditary and elective officers should be confirmed by the representative of the English government. In case of the choice of a really incompetent or corrupt official, the English have not hesitated to set aside the election, or to exercise a choice among different persons who might naturally inherit the position. This element of self-government, it must be kept in mind, however, has had only to do with the smallest units of government in dealing with their own local affairs, and its influence has not extended beyond the limits of the village concerned.

LOCAL REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLIES.

Under Lord Ripon's administration, 1880-84, a further step was taken toward self-gov-

ernment. It was provided that the different villages, or groups of villages, should elect representatives to a council, to be presided over by the representative of the central government in charge of the district, making a body that might fairly be considered to correspond with our county boards of supervisors in such states as New York and Michigan where the boards are representative of the different towns, although the powers of these boards were much less extensive than those ordinarily granted to the boards of supervisors.

This is by far the longest step that England has taken in the direction of self-government in India.

RESULTS OF MEASURES INTRODUCING SELF-GOVERNMENT.

A very general opinion among English officials in India and, there is reason to believe, also in the India Office of England, is that even this measure of self-government granted at that time was premature, to say the least, and that it has on the whole been a failure. In most parts of India people were not accustomed to any political activity of that kind. They had been in the habit of doing as they were told in matters of taxation, road-making, and other local affairs, and in many cases they felt that this self-government was an imposition upon them of an added burden of work rather than a privilege bestowed. The consequence has been that in very many cases they have come somewhat sulking, if at all, to the meeting, usually feeling somewhat the pressure of the English official in charge of the district; and they have come with no plans formulated and with no definite ideas as to what should be done. When, to prevent the meeting from being a failure, the English presiding officer brings forward his own plans for the government of the district, the greater number of the members are likely to say, politely, "As the sahib wishes," while those who take an active part in the discussion often show a lack of practical knowledge and efficiency.

Some of the more thoughtful of the English officials,—particularly, it would seem, those in the higher positions,—believe that the measure has been educative to a certain degree, and that it should be continued. The large majority of those with whom I discussed the matter said, practically, that they believed the system had been a failure, and that, though it could not easily be done away with, it would have been better had it not been introduced. The chief commissioner of one of the more important provinces,—an able and most efficient Indian official, lately retired,—has recently published an opinion

to the same effect. The system for the present is defended chiefly on the ground that it is educative and that this little experience will gradually lead to greater capacity for self-government.

Several of the most thoughtful and best-trained native Indians, even some who have been prominent in criticising most sharply the British government of India, seem to agree on this matter. While believing strongly in the natural ability of the high-caste native; while considering him fully the intellectual equal of the Englishman; and, while even asserting that in many individual cases this lack of initiative on the part of the local representative is due to fear of his English superior officer, they practically without exception said that up to the present time the natives of all races beyond doubt were lacking in administrative ability and were deficient in the power of directing the work of others. They thought that this had come about through century-long oppression by various rulers, Hindu, Mohammedan, Christian, and believed that in the course of time, if given the opportunity and means of training, they would overcome it; but even they recognized that, at the present time, the natives in no part of India are ready for self-government, and that even the very elementary, inchoate form of self-government in local affairs which they do possess is not a success.

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

In many of the larger municipalities, such as Bombay, Calcutta, and others, there has been a more determined effort made to establish self-government. City councils have been established which should perform the work that is usually performed by city councils in civilized countries. In most cases a goodly proportion of the members of these councils are appointed, but usually a considerable proportion and, in some cases, even a majority are elected. Naturally in the larger cities it is possible to find natives of India experienced in business and public affairs to serve in these positions, but the system even here does not seem to have been very successful. Sometimes the natives of the best type, belonging to the higher castes, refuse to put themselves before the electors as candidates, saying that it is beneath them to ask favors of members of the lower castes, although they would be willing to accept an appointment by His Excellency, the Governor. More often, as some may think has been the case at home and in England, men who are looking for an opportunity to advance themselves either politically or financially put themselves forward and get themselves chosen by the ignorant electorate.

It is, practically, universally believed that the

average native Oriental is less trustworthy in both business and politics than the average European or American. He has, in far too many cases, a natural liking for intrigue, a hazy uncertainty regarding the truth in speaking of things where the truth might be unpleasant either for himself or others, and a readiness in selling his opinion or his vote which would astonish the most corrupt of our city councilors. The result has been, according to the almost universal testimony, that the natives who are councilors, with rare exceptions, cannot be trusted in public affairs. They are readily bribed, and their judgment can be considered of practically no value at all.

NATIVE STATES OF INDIA.

Before the English had compelled the rulers of the native States to receive a British resident their form of government in nearly all cases was despotic. The ruler practically owned the land and also the people, who had no rights whatever as against their ruler. In many instances the ruler-in-chief granted certain sections of the country to his favorites, who in turn received from him despotic rights over the poorer inhabitants.

Even since the British Government has placed residents with the native States whose advice must be listened to, and, in most important matters,—particularly when they affect British India proper,—must be heeded, the situation is not materially different as regards the common people, excepting that certain cruelties, criminal in their nature, are not allowed. All the laws are promulgated in the name of the native ruler, and the theory of the government remains as it was before. The main improvement has been in the direction of greater liberties of action in business matters, social life, etc., rather than in the direction of government. In some of the most advanced States, whose rulers have been educated under English influence, or even perhaps in England itself,—as, for example, in Baroda and Mysore,—there are the mere beginnings of self-government. In Baroda there is a municipal government where the right of election of councilors obtains to a certain degree. The "Gaekwar"—native ruler—also proposes to institute self-government in rural districts in purely local matters, somewhat after the form already explained in British India. In Mysore there is a consultative assembly; but as yet it is not inaccurate to say that self-government, meaning by that a government coming from the people through the election of representatives, is unknown in the native States.

THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS AND FEDERATED MALAY STATES.

The Straits Settlements is, of course, one of the Crown colonies of England of the usual form. Both the governor and his council are appointed by the English Government, and, although the different interests and the different native peoples are represented on this council, there is no pretense made of having the people themselves select their own representatives. In the two or three largest cities, such as Singapore and Penang, there are municipal councils which are in part elected. A report can be made regarding native members of the municipal councils here like that on India,—only, owing to the larger number of immigrants, the native representation is, relatively speaking, small, and apparently the corruption has not been so great.

In local affairs in the rural districts no effort whatever is made toward local representation. The appointees, English and native, of the government levy the taxes, lay out the roads, organize the schools, and do whatever needs to be done; generally working, it is believed, conscientiously for the good of the locality, but consulting the native inhabitants only informally, if at all.

THE FEDERATED MALAY STATES.

The Federated Malay States, since the English undertook their protection in 1874, have been, on the whole, so successful, both from the point of view of peace and order and of financial prosperity, and they, moreover, have been so frequently held up to the United States as models of what the Philippines should become, that one needs to deal with them somewhat more carefully.

It will be recalled that each of the four States of the federation has its own native sultan as its formal ruler. This sultanhip is an hereditary office, and the English technically have nothing to do with it, although, as the protecting power, they, of course, must approve and recognize the sultan. All laws are promulgated in the name of the sultan, and are in reality passed by him in council. In order to secure the safety of his small State he has given over to the English Government the absolute control of its foreign affairs, and has consented to receive at his court an English adviser whom he shall consult, and who shall be given full information regarding all legislative and administrative affairs. This is the form of government.

POWER OF THE RESIDENTS.

In practice this English resident has a seat in the sultan's council. In order to have the work

efficiently carried on an Englishman has been placed at the head of practically every department of government of each state, and not a few of the more important subordinate positions are filled by Englishmen. All laws of a financial or business nature, all laws in fact excepting those that might raise a question of religion, or might affect vitally the old time customs of the people, are prepared by the resident or by his superior officer, the resident-general of all the states, and are submitted to the sultan and his council in complete form ready to be passed. Naturally, in order to avoid friction or possible misunderstanding, it is customary for the resident to consult the sultan before presenting bills of importance, or before raising any question of prime significance. Naturally also, if, when such matters are presented, the sultan or the council suggest amendments that appear wise, the resident may consent to the change; but it is practically no exaggeration to say that all legislation proceeds from the resident and is given to the state by the resident. How complete this power of the resident is can readily be seen when one knows that since these four states were federated in 1895, it has been the purpose to give them on all important matters—such, for example, as Chinese immigration, police administration, taxation, etc.—identical legislation. In order to bring this about the residents of the four states in question meet in council under the chairmanship of the resident-general and prepare identical bills which are then submitted to the four sultans in council for approval. It is not expected that any council will make an amendment that is not approved by all four of the residents.

It will be observed that, so far as the average native Malay is concerned, he has absolutely no voice whatever in his government. It may probably be said that formerly under the native chiefs he had nothing whatever to say, and this also is true. The English have deprived him of none of his liberties as regards governing himself, for he never had any; but through their influence he has been granted liberties of action, of holding property, of self-education and self-development such as he never dreamed of before; while his personal safety and that of his wife and children have been absolutely secured.

SUCCESS OF THE GOVERNMENT.

From other points of view the policy has been extremely successful. Owing to the fortunate circumstances of these states possessing the richest tin mines in the world, as well as to their being extremely fertile, their financial condition is most enviable. The native rulers

receive an income with absolute certainty much greater than they received before they submitted and consented to receive an English resident; the country has to a great extent been provided with macadamized roads as perfect as those in France; railroads have been built through several of the states and are now being extended into a complete system, and that out of the current revenues without bonding; over one of the fine roads between two of the native states a regular line of automobiles is running instead of an electric tram; a telegraph and telephone system has been established; and in the municipalities one finds almost everywhere incinerators for disposing of garbage, systems of water-works, and many other provisions such as only the most highly civilized states enjoy.

Even in the municipalities there is no attempt at local self-government. There is a municipal board, made up often in part of natives, but the board is an *ex-officio* one, all the members of which are appointed in their representative official capacities by the central government. It would perhaps be no exaggeration to say that, so far as all external evidences of good, honest, successful government is concerned, no better example can be found in the world than the Federated Malay States present; but in these states there is, so far as one can see, not even a vestige of popular self-government.

NATIVE OPINION.

Some efforts have been made toward educating the native Malays; but the opinion seems to be universal that they are not yet capable of self-government, and that they are contented under the form of government that they have. On the other hand, among the best educated, more intelligent Malays, one finds a longing for something more, and a belief in the possibility of an ultimate self-government. I spent an evening discussing this question with one of the most intelligent of the native chiefs,—a man who, under the old order of things, would have stood very near the sultan, and who, under the present order, is one of the most trusted councilors and an expert official of both the sultan of his state and of the English government. He knew the English form of government at home; he believed in thorough education of the people; and he thought that ultimately something should be done toward giving the native people an elective franchise with all that that implies. He was, however, equally positive in the opinion that at present a choice even of local rulers by the people would be a misfortune if carried beyond the villages, and that a representative body for mak-

ing the laws for the state would be, for a good while to come, the greatest misfortune that could befall the average man.

THE DUTCH COLONIES.

Owing to the forced labor which, in earlier years,—beginning in 1832,—the Dutch government exacted from the natives of Java, and to the complete reports which travelers made upon that system at the time, the impression has gone abroad that the Dutch Government has been severe, even cruel, toward the Javanese, and that their methods, therefore, ought not to be used by a free people, like those of the United States, in treating similar questions. The Holland of the present day, however, in its dealings with its eastern colonies, is hardly to be judged by the Holland of fifty years ago. The popular party in Holland has found it worth its while to challenge the old policy in Java, and the system of forced labor has been abolished upon all but coffee plantations, while even there it is not carried on in the same rigid way as in former days. Moreover, even the state coffee plantations are growing smaller year by year.

In later days the Dutch Government has beyond question kept clearly in mind, in its legislation, the welfare of the native Javanese. Care is taken to keep the taxes low enough so that the natives can live with a reasonable degree of comfort. Whenever there is a partial failure of crop, the tax is remitted, and it is also remitted at times as a reward for especially careful work on the plantations. In the interests of the unsophisticated villagers the shrewd Chinese trader is kept out of the villages, and his sphere of activity is restricted to certain parts, especially to the larger cities.

In his dealings with Europeans the native Javanese is also protected. The law prescribes that in the case of a European renting land the terms of rental shall be such as to prevent the exhaustion of the soil, and the contract must meet the approval of the resident. Knowing the superior ability of the European and the Chinese and the certainty that the simple-minded Javanese would soon find himself landless and practically absolutely in the hands of the foreigner if unlimited freedom were left to all parties, the government watches over him in a paternal way; and, on the whole, the Javanese seem contented and prosperous under this *régime*.

There is, however, in Java, with the exception of purely village government, nothing in the nature of self-government. In some of the villages, it is true, there still remains, as a custom of ancient days, the right of election of the

village headman, subject only to the approval of the Dutch Government, which approval is regularly granted unless the choice is absolutely unfit. In the courts in the larger districts native officials, usually members of the earlier ruling families, still hold positions of authority and govern the lower classes as of old. By the side of these native rulers, however, stand the Dutch officials, holding, on the whole, the more authoritative positions, and above them both stands the central government of Java, all Dutch appointees of the home government, practically directing their every action. The taxes are levied through the Dutch officials; schools are placed where, to the Dutch officials, it seems wise; and other methods of administration are carried out in the same general way. Even in the larger cities, such as Batavia and Soerabaya, the local inhabitants and others, whether Javanese or Chinese, English or Dutch, have nothing whatever to say. Their rulers are appointed for them by the central government, and by these officers taxes are levied, streets opened, the cities cleaned and lighted.

The Dutch officials, moreover, are of the opinion that they are giving the Javanese all the liberty that they are really capable of using well at the present time. They have been with them for many decades; they know their characteristics; they work together in the government with the more intelligent members of the earlier ruling families; and, on the whole, they do not believe that at the present, at any rate, the average native is in any way capable of self-government. It may perhaps be said that the Dutch have not had the same range of experience in this regard that the English have had, and that their conclusion may have been reached with less experiment; but it is beyond question that their government is, on the whole, efficient; that they believe what they say; and that, after excellent opportunities for observing the characteristics of the natives, lower and higher alike, even those who have their share in the government, this conclusion has been reached and is a conscientious one.

FRENCH INDO-CHINA.

In French colonies we find an inclination to adopt French methods from home in part, with, however, the consequent need of holding ultimate the power in French hands. Speaking generally, the colonial business proper is almost absolutely in the hands of the governor-general, since he organizes all work, names all civic functionaries except minor ones, who are appointed by his subordinates, is responsible for

order within and for defense against aggression from without, and even approves the budgets, though in Cochin-China the budget is also voted by the colonial council.

THE GOVERNMENT OF COCHIN-CHINA.

In Cochin-China, which is really a colony with direct administration, the other divisions of Indo-China being only under a French protectorate, the executive is aided by a privy council of nine members, of whom a majority are French officials and hold their positions *ex officio*, while the four who may be natives chosen from the higher classes, are appointed by the government. A colonial council of sixteen members with quite extensive powers, contains six Asiatics, who enjoy also civic rights. These are elected by delegates from the municipalities selected by the notables. The French members are chosen by direct suffrage. In local affairs the *arrondissements*, corresponding roughly to our counties, have councils made up in part of natives chosen by the notables of the villages, but presided over by Frenchmen. The governor may add European members, and must approve proceedings. This administration is centered at the capital, and is carefully controlled by French officials.

In the villages there are two classes of inhabitants, the registered, who have a right to vote for village officers, and the non-registered, who have no such right. Under the native *régime* the administrative independence of the villages was noteworthy, and the French have aimed to preserve native institutions as far as possible. Nevertheless, it has been found necessary to maintain careful supervision over the local councils in order to prevent local abuses. For this purpose largely the *arrondissement* councils mentioned above were created.

The larger cities have municipal councils, to assist the mayor and his assistants. In Saigon, the capital, this council is composed of eleven French citizens and four natives, all chosen by universal suffrage. In Cholon, the native city, on the other hand, the presiding officer and three Frenchmen nominated by the chamber of commerce sit with four Annamites and four Chinese, who are elected to membership by a vote of their own nationalities, the suffrage being restricted by a high property qualification.

It will be observed that in local affairs there is a goodly measure of self-government, and that even in larger divisions the native Annamites are given representation, though French supervision is everywhere, and in the more important places French members are kept in the majority.

THE PHILIPPINES.

The chief mistake, perhaps, in most discussions on the Philippines is an assumption often made that the Filipinos are one in nature and type, and that general statements can be made regarding them. Nothing can be further from the truth. Mindanao, of course, is largely Mohammedan, and the Moros, in language, in training, in disposition, are entirely different from the other Filipinos. The Negritos, again, lowest of all doubtless in the scale of civilization, are more unlike the average Tagalog of Luzon than are the Comanches unlike the residents of Boston. But excluding entirely from our consideration all the non-Christian tribes, Negritos, Igorotes, Moros, and others, we still have even in the one island of Luzon several different peoples, neither of which can understand the other, unless by chance certain individuals in both may understand some common language such as Spanish. As they differ in language, so also, to a considerable extent do they differ in customs, in occupation, habits of living, and even in earlier habits of government. If we take into consideration, however, only the more advanced provinces, and those which were brought most completely under the domination of Spain, and confine our attention to these alone, we may perhaps treat fairly the question of self-government.

Of these peoples possibly 10 per cent.,—probably less than 5 per cent.,—can speak Spanish and have some of the elements of education. Part of those who do not speak Spanish may possibly read and write a little in their own language; but if so, their literature is valueless, and they have no means of acquiring the elements of a higher culture. Many of them, however, have excellent characteristics. A person traveling among them is often reminded of the excellent qualities of the Japanese, the most progressive people of the East. Generally speaking, the Filipinos are neat in dress, cleanly in person; they seem bright and intelligent as one talks with them; a few have been educated in Europe, and these seem often men of excellent ability, while the best of them may be called orators and scholars. The average young man or young woman trained in any handicraft shows manual dexterity. They sometimes make excellent draughtsmen, and have shown in certain localities not a little skill in wood carving, in weaving, even in painting, while a very large proportion of them have excellent taste in dress and music.

With these good qualities, however, and with the worthy ambition which many of them have,

are to be considered also other qualities which suit them ill for governing. With comparatively few exceptions they are not diligent; they are not thrifty,—the needs of the day being satisfied, they care little for the morrow; many even of the best trained are not truthful, having the characteristic of most Orientals of caring rather to please their hearer than to stick closely to facts; and, doubtless in far too many cases, they have less regard for the rights of private property than seems to people of the Anglo-Saxon race essential for successful government. Worse still, perhaps, from the point of view of self-government, is the fact that the more ignorant people are extremely superstitious, and that they have been trained for generations, even for centuries, to yield absolute obedience to the wealthier classes and to those who had been placed over them in government. In our war against them the *anting-anting* or charm which was to make them invulnerable as against American bullets was found in certain instances on every one of hundreds of an attacking force, and there can be little doubt that the vigor of their charge was due to the real belief that their talisman would keep them safe.

The fact of their absolute subservience to the "upper" classes has also appeared in many ways. When even to welcome American officers a reception or feast was given by the friendly Filipinos, it was often learned afterward that the "presidente" of the town, or the "cabeza" of the barrio, had sent out word to the citizens to bring him, free of charge, a certain number of chickens, or eggs, or whatever other provisions he might need which they could furnish, or to come in certain numbers to serve in preparing or carrying out the entertainment. Even when American troops or officials wished men to work on the roads or to aid in transportation, and found it impossible to hire directly for any reasonable sum a sufficient number, if appeal were made to the "presidente," and he sent word to the common men, a sufficient number would be secured at once, who would work more or less faithfully for the time being at reasonable pay. The fact is that the average Filipino of the lower class has been subject to absolute domination of the feudal type, having been compelled to render service free of charge. In very many individual cases, as has been brought out continually in the courts established by the Americans, personal service in the houses of the wealthier families has been of such a nature, when combined possibly with a small debt which has been kept hanging over the head of the servant for years, that the servant has been in reality a slave. This relationship between the aristocracy of the towns

and the common people, throughout even the best parts of the most advanced provinces, cannot be overlooked in considering the question of self-government.

FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

We have already given to the Filipinos practically everywhere, excepting in Mindanao, a greater measure of self-government than is possessed by any other Oriental people, whether independent or colonial. The Filipinos elect all their local officials, and these really direct the government. Every male Filipino of the age of twenty-three who pays a tax of about \$15 gold, or who owns real property worth about \$250, or who can speak, read, and write either English or Spanish, has the right to vote. So far he elects men to direct his local affairs, and through these men he has a larger share in determining what shall be done in local matters and what taxes shall be levied, than do the inhabitants of any part of India, the Dutch East Indies, China, or Japan. In the provincial governments the governors are elected by the municipal councilors, who, as we have seen, are elected by the people, though the other members of the provincial board,—i.e., the treasurer and supervisor,—are appointed. It is also proposed, likewise, to give to the Filipinos within a short time the election of a general legislative assembly, which must be consulted on all matters of importance and which will have a veto on practically everything proposed by the appointive officials, while Congress has already granted to this people the right to send two representatives to Congress to represent them in Washington; they, also, as soon as their legislative assembly is chosen, to be elected as real representatives of the Filipinos themselves. Neither the 35,000,000 of the Dutch East Indies, nor the 300,000,000 of British India, including the native States, have any representative of their own choosing in their own home parliaments, and yet the rulers of both these countries feel that their people have all the rights of self-government that it is wise to grant them. It is true that we have in the Philippines several men of ability, of education, of training, but the educated high-caste Brahmin, or Maratha, trained in Cambridge or Oxford, is surely as high a type as the best of the Filipinos,—most people would say far higher.

FILIPINO OPINION.

Even the educated Filipinos themselves think that we have gone far enough in the way of granting the common people self-government. I

have spoken with many intelligent Filipinos, both in the government and out of it, and I have not found one who was in favor of extending the suffrage without property qualification to the uneducated. One said that he favored general manhood suffrage, but explained that the votes must be cast by the upper classes for the lower. Many of them even question the wisdom of the election of governors of provinces and the members of a legislative assembly at the present time. No thoughtful, intelligent man who has lately studied the problem on the ground,—whether Filipino, or American, or foreigner,—so far as my knowledge goes, thinks it would be in the interests of the Filipinos to grant them at the present time a greater measure of self-government than they now possess. At present the restricted franchise leaves, to a considerable degree, the power in the hands of the well-to-do and better educated classes; but, far different from the conditions under the Spanish *régime*, these leaders of the people are not at liberty to dictate to the poor what they shall do nor to exact from them any unpaid service. In all of the districts there are courts under the supervision, if not in the immediate charge, of American officials; and every act of oppression on the part of either American or Filipino rulers as against the common man may be brought before the courts. Experience has shown that the courts are ready to teach the common people their rights by punishing the guilty oppressor, and there is reason to believe that the common man is fast learning what his privileges are.

The experience of the courts, joined to the extremely practical training of a useful nature that is being given in the schools of the Philippines to an extent unthought of in any other eastern country is rapidly leading the Filipinos to a larger measure of self-government in all their local affairs. There is reason to believe that, after some generations, a much more active part may be taken by them in all local affairs than could wisely be granted to the present generation. It seems hardly possible when one considers the slowness with which social changes are brought about, that even the comprehensive scheme of education planned for the Filipinos can make any serious impression much short of three or four generations. The present generation is hardly affected, while the next is likely to make little wise use, it may be feared, of so newly gained powers.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

It is perhaps not necessary to dwell at length upon the question of self-government in inter-

national affairs. So far as appears this is not asked for at the present time by any Filipino who has any standing among his fellows; and, as I understand the matter, no party or group of men in the United States is advocating independence for the Filipinos in international affairs without a guarantee on the part of the United States against the aggressions of foreign nations, a guarantee which would amount to a rigid protectorate. Certain it is that without such a protectorate a Filipino nation could not exist. Englishmen thoroughly versed in Oriental politics have said that, while England did not wish the Philippines if the United States would keep them, she could not but look with apprehension upon the seizure of the Philippines by any other foreign power. Intelligent Japanese connected with their government, realizing to their full the burdens which Japan has at present to carry and the somewhat critical situation in which she is placed in international matters, feel also that, were the United States to withdraw and other nations be given a chance of seizing, under whatever pretext, the control of the Philippines, she could not stand idly by, for her interests, too, might be endangered. And yet no one doubts that, with this conflict of interests, a withdrawal of the United States might well mean an attempted seizure under some excuse by some foreign nation.

CONCLUSION.

The United States has already given to the Filipinos a larger portion of self-government than has ever been granted under any circumstances to any other Oriental people. The United States has already granted more self-government than any other nation has considered wise, or safe, or beneficial to the people themselves. As with this present measure of self-government there have been also joined measures for training the Filipinos themselves further in the methods of self-government, with the exception of individual instances, we have probably not gone too far; although we have certainly gone as far as is consistent with safety or with the interests of the Filipinos, and in individual cases we have overstepped the mark. If we continue present plans there is reason to believe that gradually—after a considerable lapse of time—there can be given greater measures of self-government, both by first extending the suffrage and, later, by increasing the powers of elected officials. At present, at least, we should follow the advice of the wiser Filipinos, carry out present plans, and wait for results to show the next step to take.

SHALL THERE BE A TWO YEARS' COLLEGE COURSE?

AN INTERVIEW WITH PRESIDENT BUTLER, OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

President Butler's first annual report to the trustees of Columbia University is a document of wide public interest by reason of its bold and innovating suggestions, touching the length of the college course and, as an incident thereto, the granting of the so-called baccalaureate degree. Newspaper extracts led, last month, to much comment both in the daily press and in educational circles. In addressing the trustees of Columbia, Dr. Butler naturally presented the subject with reference, principally, to its bearing upon the problems of the great university of which he has lately become the official head.

The point that has attracted popular attention, and that has furnished the basis for most of the newspaper arguments, is Dr. Butler's proposal to reduce the regular college course from four years to two years; or rather, to provide concurrently a longer and a shorter course, with the suggestion that the degree of A.B. be conferred at the end of the second year, and that of A.M. at the end of the fourth year. The discussion in educational circles is, of course, only in its beginning. In order that there may be no misapprehension concerning what it is that Dr. Butler really proposes, and in order further to ascertain his views respecting the bearing of his proposals upon American collegiate work in general, we have ventured to ask Dr. Butler several questions, which he has answered for the benefit of the readers of this magazine.

QUESTION. *As respects Columbia itself, do we understand that you are advising an immediate and radical change?—or that you are outlining a policy which really is in the line of a natural evolution from present conditions?*

Answer. I deemed it my duty, in my first annual report, to present to the trustees of Columbia University the results of my reflection upon the largest problems which lie before us for solution. In a certain sense, therefore, my recommendations may be said to be academic; although, of course, they bear directly upon the policies of the immediate future. I have outlined in the report what I believe to be the logical result of forces and tendencies now at work in American education, and have not proposed, and do not propose, any violent or radical policy on the part of Columbia University, or of universities and colleges in general.

Question. *About what proportion of Columbia's collegiate students have probably been, in point of fact, actually giving only three years to ordinary collegiate work, the fourth year being mainly regarded as the first in the period of professional study, upon which it is permitted to count?*

Answer. Not very many students in Columbia College have taken advantage of the provision by which their fourth year may be spent wholly in professional study. At no time, I think, has the proportion of any given senior class making such use of the last year exceeded 10 per cent. It is stated, in explanation of this fact, that the restrictions surrounding the privilege, and the severe conditions under which the professional work is carried on, have combined to discourage

students from attempting this combination of courses.

Question. *Please define in a few words just what the proposed change is, and explain in what regards it would seem more practical and satisfactory than the existing system for the purposes of Columbia.*

Answer. I may answer this question by premising the fact that I am profoundly concerned for the future of the American college, which I believe to be the strongest characteristic of our educational system, and the one which gives our system manifest advantages over those of Continental Europe. The spirit and the purpose of the college are our strongest defense against the purely materialistic and commercial ideals in education and in life. It is my belief that forces are now actively at work which will result in the destruction of the American college during the next generation, or, at least, in the destruction of its essential characteristics; first, perhaps, as it exists in the larger universities, and then elsewhere. These forces are: On the one hand, the rapid development of secondary schools,—particularly public high schools,—and the extension of their work upward into the field hitherto occupied by the freshman and sophomore years of the college; and, on the other hand, the invasion of the junior and senior years of college work by professional and technical studies which are quite foreign in spirit, method, and purpose, to the studies which they are displacing.

As to these changes, there is one fundamental question to be asked: Are they in the interests of better and more effective educational standards in a democracy?

The growth of the public high schools, and the upward extension of their work into the field formerly occupied by the early years of the college, seems to me to be an unmixed public blessing. These schools have brought educational opportunities, of an improved kind, to tens of thousands of students who could never have left home, or have entered upon college residence, in order to obtain them. I accept this change, therefore, as not only inevitable but beneficial. I recognize the ability of the best secondary schools to do not only as well as, but even better than, the colleges have been in the habit of doing the work of many of the studies of the freshman and sophomore years. I believe it to be indisputable that many secondary schools provide better equipment and better instruction in English, history, physics, and chemistry, than do any but very few colleges. College teaching has, at this point, failed to keep pace with the tremendous educational advances of the last generation; while the secondary schools have advanced themselves of the new tendencies and opportunities to the utmost.

On the other hand, I do not believe that the displacement of the remainder of the college course by professional and technical studies is either necessary, wise, or desirable. One object which I have in view is to check the further progress of this invasion, and to keep some period of college residence solely for that study of the liberal arts and sciences which mean so much.

So far as Columbia is concerned, my proposals would,—if ever put into operation,—result in marking off definitely the work of the college from that of the secondary schools on the one hand, and from that of the technical and professional schools on the other, and would give the degrees in arts for college work, and for college work alone. These degrees are now given, both at Columbia and elsewhere, for work which has no relation to the group of studies on which the arts degrees have traditionally been based. Many see no objection in this, believing that one object of study is as good as another. I dissent from that view.

Another point is, that both college officers and professional school officers object to the division of the time and interest of the student which results from classifying him as an undergraduate in college at the same period that he is wholly devoting his time to the pursuit of technical studies under another faculty.

Question. Columbia has great numbers of young men studying for the practice of law and of medicine, and many hundreds, also, preparing for the life of engineers and architects, and for other practical callings of a professional grade, besides many

who will pursue postgraduate courses in preparation for professorships or for expert service in other ways. Besides these, Columbia has many students who will pass from college to business life, and some who will become men of leisure.

In view of existing American conditions, about what years, on the average, and how many years, would you have young men of these different categories spend in the preparatory school; in collegiate work proper; and in professional, or postgraduate, study? At what age ought they to leave college or university?

Answer. This question goes to the root of the matter. All classes of students named in the question should complete a normal secondary school course of four years. All should have some college life and training as well. Those who are to prepare themselves for professorships, and for expert service in other ways, will need all of four busy college years before entering upon what are called postgraduate or research studies. On the other hand, those who are to spend from three to four years in a professional or technical school do not need,—in the strict sense of the word,—four years of college instruction; although many of them, no doubt, would profit by having it. It is for this class of students that I believe a two years' course of college instruction to be very desirable. They would then spend from five to six years in combined college and university residence; and, in view of the rigorous intellectual discipline given by the modern instruction in law, medicine, architecture, engineering, and the rest, and in view also of the undoubted educational value of those subjects, as now taught, they would get from such a course a training of much general value, as well as one which bears especially upon their chosen profession. It must not be forgotten that, to require a two years' college course for students in the professional and technical schools, would be to raise the requirements for those schools by two years, and to lengthen the total period of college and university residence by at least two years for such students everywhere, except at the law schools of Harvard and Columbia, and the medical schools of Johns Hopkins and Harvard. The student who entered college at seventeen would leave the university with his Ph.D. at, say, twenty-four, or with his professional and technical degree at twenty-two or twenty-three, according as the professional or technical course occupied three or four years. The courses in medicine and applied science at Columbia occupy four years each; the course in law occupies three years; but the faculty of law is now advising certain classes of students to spread the work over four years in that school also.

Question. What would be the effect of the adoption of your suggestions upon the tendency to early specialization, which many educators think a serious danger?

Answer. It is a serious danger, and my proposals are aimed at postponing the period of beginning to specialize. It must not be forgotten that, so long as students are admitted to the professional and technical schools directly from the secondary schools, they are specializing severely at sixteen or seventeen years of age. By putting them through a two years' college course, the beginnings of highly specialized study would be deferred two years. I regard this as a great gain. On the other hand, to insist upon a four years' college course, the age of admission being seventeen and a half or eighteen years, is to postpone unduly the period of specialization as well as to put the best professional and technical instructors out of the reach of all but relatively few.

Question. Are the rearrangements that you propose feasible in the other leading universities of the Eastern States, and what, if you choose to say, seems to you to be the tendency in the policy of such institutions? Would some such plan appear to be feasible in the organization of the great State universities of the Mississippi Valley and farther West?

Answer. I do not see why,—after these proposals have run the gantlet of debate and critical examination, and, if they sustain themselves,—they cannot be adopted anywhere, East or West, and whether the college is large or small. They are especially easy of adoption by the great State universities, if approved by those institutions. It would be an unmitigated advantage if one-third of the nearly five hundred colleges in the United States would give a two years' course and that only. They could do so much very well.

Question. The questions you have raised in your report are of intense interest to the authorities of scores of colleges of the distinctively American type. Would you think it advisable for them to introduce a two years' course for the degree of A. B., and give the degree of A. M. upon the completion of a four years' course? Would not such a system tend to crowd the short course with students, and to send those who care for further study to the universities for professional, or postgraduate, work?

Answer. This question can only be answered by bearing in mind what I have already stated—that, in my judgment, the distinctively American college is seriously threatened, unless it takes steps to readjust itself to new conditions, and to mark its work off clearly and somewhat sharply from that which normally and properly precedes it in the secondary school, and from that which is

now filtering down into it from the university and the professional school. I think that the traditional A.B. standard was a good one, in respect both to the age at which the student took the degree and to the character of the studies which he pursued for it. As I have pointed out, the student of to-day spends two years more than did his grandfather, and one year more than did his father, in obtaining the A.B. degree; and yet it is the degree of his father and his grandfather, and not his, that we talk about as the traditional A.B. degree conferred by the distinctively American college. The so-called distinctively American college is, because of its uncertain, or ill-enforced, standards of admission, not infrequently doing work now regarded as belonging to the secondary school. It seems to me that it would be difficult for any serious-minded observer to hold that a student who could pass with a rating of, say, 60 per cent.—such examinations as were set in June last by the College Entrance Examination Board, and on which examinations were held in every part of the country,—was not at least two years ahead, in ground covered as well as in age, of his grandfather when the latter entered college. To compare the education of the college graduate of 1860 with that of to-day is not easy; but the latter has demonstrably had two years more of formal instruction than the former. It is universally held that the resulting conditions are unsatisfactory; but there is great reluctance to propose, or to approve of, any specific remedy. The grandfather and his contemporaries hold themselves to be better trained than their grandsons. If so, what is to be done about it? My proposals, whether good or bad, are no more than an attempt to point out a specific remedy for an admitted evil.

Providing the colleges, generally, would raise their standards of admission to a point where they rest squarely upon a four years' secondary school course, it seems to me that the plan which I have outlined might be adopted by them all. So long as the entrance requirements are below this standard, the colleges are practically conferring the degree of A. B. for a college course of three years, or for one of two and one-half years, at the present time. The remaining year, or year and a half of this work, is work which has, during the past generation or two, been transferred to the secondary school.

It was my duty, for more than ten years,—as dean of the Faculty of Philosophy of Columbia University,—to pass upon the college degrees offered by intending university students as credentials for admission to postgraduate courses. In that way the degrees of more than two hun-

dred American colleges and scientific schools came under my observation; and some of them could not be accepted for admission to anything higher than the sophomore year of Columbia College. It is idle to suppose that there is any present uniform significance in the A. B. degree, or any present uniform standard on which it is conferred; or even that the degree represents four years of truly collegiate study when four years have been spent in college residence. Such an assumption is contrary to fact. Not only do the degrees of no two colleges mean the same thing,—either in form, content, or adequacy of training; but it often happens that two degrees given in one and the same year by a single college are as far apart, in significance, as are two degrees given by different colleges. One reason why I prefer the plan which I have outlined to that now in existence is, that I believe it would bring definiteness and increasing uniformity into the A. B. degree, wherever conferred, and so give it new dignity and importance. My suggestion proceeds from an admission, and approval, of the fact that two years of the traditional four years' college course have passed over to the secondary schools.

Question. But would it not debase the value of the A. B. degree to confer it upon the completion of a college course of two years?

Answer. That depends entirely upon the meaning of the term "debase." Suppose the conditions of admission to college were still further increased to a point where they were equivalent to the standard of admission to the present junior year at Harvard or at Columbia; would it be necessary to the maintenance of the standard of the A. B. degree that the college course should continue to be four years in length from that point? Well, it is just such a change as this which has occurred during the past thirty or forty years. It seems to me quite unreasonable to suppose that, after a considerable portion of the work heretofore done in college has passed over to the domain of the secondary school, that the college must go on keeping up a four years' course, simply for appearance's sake, or to hold fast to the tradition that the college course must occupy four years. My fundamental proposition is that the American degree of Bachelor of Arts gained its significance, and has its significance, because of what is known as the old-fashioned four years' course of college study, and that the appropriate time to confer the degree was, and is, upon the completion of such a course.

It is a question of fact easily to be decided, whether or not some portion of this four years' course is not now covered in the secondary school and tested by the college admission ex-

amination. If so, the proper time to confer the B. A. degree is upon the completion of the rest of the old, standard course. As I view the facts, this time is arrived at after two years of college residence, admission to college having been gained on the terms stated, and not on lower terms. Either the college admission standard of to-day is lower than it used to be, or is higher than it used to be, or is just what it used to be. I fancy that no one will contend that it is either lower than formerly, or the same as formerly. Therefore, the facts must be that the A. B. degree conferred after a four years' course has been pushed up beyond the point which it occupied when it gained so much reputation and distinction. That very pushing up it is which has caused the trouble under which our higher education is now suffering primarily through being top-heavy and too long-drawn-out. It is not true that the highest standard (in point of time consumed) is necessarily the best in education. Too low a standard brings education into contempt; too high a standard deprives it of the opportunity for social service which should belong to it.

Personally, I am not able to take the lively interest in the question of degrees which many do. They seem to me to require too much explanation to be worth very much; yet we have them, and they can be so administered as to have real value. That value will depend, primarily, upon their definiteness and upon the standard of excellence required for attainment. I should like to improve the present conditions, in both of these respects; but I care much more about the establishment of a two years' college course than about the degree it earns, or whether it earns any degree.

Question. Cannot the time which it seems desirable to save be saved elsewhere than by contracting the college course?

Answer. It cannot. The secondary school course, where best given, is now substantial and satisfactory; it uses the four years allotted to it thoroughly and well. Certainly, the professional courses cannot be shortened; for it is only recently—under the strongest sort of pressure from the professions themselves,—that they have been lengthened to three and four years of substantial work. There remain but two places where time can be saved. The first is in the elementary school, where two years are wasted, chiefly in the upper grammar grades, and eight years are occupied with work which could be accomplished in six. I called attention to this situation in an address before the National Educational Association at Minneapolis in July last. The other place is in the college course;

and that I have discussed in the report about which you are questioning me. To the best of my knowledge, no other suggestion for saving the time which almost every one admits is now wasted or unprofitably used, except that of the three years' college course, has been made.

Question. Would it be of advantage if the typical American college should lower its entrance requirements by at least one year?

Answer. No; it would be disadvantageous. With the possible exception of two institutions, no college admission requirements are now too high for the best social service. Most of them are too low by from a year to a year and a half. To raise them by that amount of work would, as experience has shown, not result in permanently raising the age of college admission; but it would compel more concentrated and better work in those secondary schools which are still behind-hand. This, of itself, is a legitimate end toward which the influence of colleges should be exercised.

Question. Would your suggestions have a tendency to make student life more concentrated and strenuous, discouraging the four or five months of vacation idleness that is now customary, and making the ordinary college student take himself seriously as a worker?

Answer. They certainly would. There is an ethical aspect of this matter which has escaped attention, and which ought to be emphasized. Charming as are the privileges and delights of college life, it is not a good thing for the American boy to spend four formative and precious years as idly as he may do in college. I say advisedly, "as he may do." Not a few college students overwork themselves, and very many spend four profitable years; but my own observation and the comments of numberless parents force me to the conclusion that many boys drift through college more or less aimlessly; and, in consequence, are injured rather than benefited by the experience. Personally, I should rather have a boy work through two years of college life than loll through four years; it would be better for his character and better for his intellectual development. West Point and Annapolis can teach the colleges some lessons in this regard.

Question. Does not the present system have a tendency to undue prolongation of childhood; that is to say, to an unfortunate postponement of responsible participation in the affairs of real life?

Answer. It does; and, therefore, it operates to discredit the college and college education. Many of the complaints made by practical men of affairs against the college would be done away with if we could bring about an improvement in this respect.

Question. With a shorter college period and an earlier entrance upon business, or professional, life, might we not hope to have a greatly-increased proportion of college-bred men in the community?

Answer. Certainly; and this is one of the ends that I lay most stress upon. In a democracy, we cannot afford to have the college a class institution; the conditions which surround it cannot be made such as will confine it to the children of the well-to-do and leisure classes, without very unfortunate results. Double college courses, as I have proposed,—one of two years, and one of four years,—would result in greatly increasing the number of men who have had some serious college training, while depriving no one of any of the rich opportunities that he now has.

Question. What would be some of the principal essentials of the concentrated two years' college course? Would it tend to a somewhat rigid curriculum?

Answer. Doubtless the two-year college course would differ at different colleges, as the existing courses differ. In my judgment, it would be wise to make the work of such a course both heavier and more concentrated than the courses which existing tendencies have brought about and are bringing about. Such a course should contain the work in English, mathematics, Latin, one modern language, one experimental science, economics, and philosophy, that forms the backbone of the best A.B. courses.

Question. What are some of the subjects now usually comprised in the four years' course that could be dropped from a two years' course?

Answer. As matters are at Columbia, nothing need be dropped from the two years' course except subjects wholly elective; and at Columbia, as elsewhere, this elective privilege during the last two years may be exercised wholly or in part by choosing subjects which are counted toward professional and technical degrees. There would be no enforced loss of liberal studies.

Question. How would such a change affect social phases of college student life?

Answer. I do not see that any necessary change in the social conditions of college life would result. The colleges generally would have more students to care for, and it would doubtless be the case that more complex and diverse social relationships would be built up in consequence.

Question. While the element of time spent in college may fairly be held to be subordinate to the amount and quality of the work done, yet may not the value of the time element be underestimated?

Answer. Yes, it may; and I realize that there is some danger in a shorter college course, on that account,—but the best consideration which I have been able to give to the subject convinces

me that this danger is quite outweighed by the manifest intellectual and moral disadvantages of a longer period of college residence not well occupied. A certain amount of cultivation—and even of culture,—may be absorbed from college life and work by the student who puts very little energy into his own studies. But I think that this does not happen often; and that, in any event, it is not a consideration which can be permitted to outweigh those on the other side.

Question. How would such a change be likely to bear upon college finances in general?

Answer. The effect upon college finances would be uncertain for a short period, but afterward probably favorable. My judgment is, that the number of new students who would go to college for the shorter course would outweigh the number of those who, now taking the longer course, would be satisfied with the shorter, if it were provided.

Question. How would the American degree of A.B., under this proposed arrangement, compare in educational value with degrees in England, Scotland, Canada, and elsewhere?

Answer. Premising what I have said above about the admission requirements,—an essential which must never be lost sight of in this discussion,—such a baccalaureate degree would take rank with the French baccalaureate; with the pass degree at Oxford; with the ordinary degree in

course at the Scottish universities; and with the graduation certificate from the Prussian Gymnasium. The content of all of these degrees would differ; but, from an administrative point of view, they would represent about the same amount of time spent in study. Personally, I am much more concerned about the quality of the work done by the student than I am about the time spent in doing it; although, under certain conditions, the latter element becomes important. We have steadily underestimated the intellectual capacity of the American boy, have allowed him to waste two years early in his school life, and have framed a college course through which he may dawdle, if he wishes to. The result is that an educational superstructure has been piled up which must be remodeled or it will fall down.

The main thing to bear in mind is the *purpose* of the college training. President Hadley put it admirably in his address at the University of Kansas the other day, when he said that "The great thing that the English colleges have always done, and the great thing that the best American institutions are doing in their collegiate courses, is to lead the student to value some other ideals besides the commercial one. Young men are far too apt to overvalue these ideals as compared with the ideals of civic duty, of religious earnestness, and unselfish devotion to causes which promise them no personal advancement."

GOVERNMENT IN THE PHILIPPINES, 1898-1902.

A REVIEW OF THE SUCCESSIVE STEPS IN THE EVOLUTION FROM MILITARY TO CIVIL ADMINISTRATION.

BY ARTHUR WALLACE DUNN.

IT is a little more than two years since the first attempt was made to introduce civil government into the Philippine Islands. Previous to that time the military government was supreme. It was not only the executive, but the legislative and judicial as well, though some effort had been made to have some of the old Spanish laws enforced by civil magistrates; but the military courts-martial, acting under the orders of the military governor-general, were the courts of last resort. Legislation was enacted by military orders promulgated by the adjutant-general, and these orders were enforced by the same power that made them, the commanding general. Since the Philippine commission landed

in the islands and began the organization of the civil government the progress from military absolutism to civil control has been rapid and successful. Each advance has been made with care and consideration. It is a gratifying fact that no backward steps have been necessary, but that the growth of civil authority, with the corresponding decrease of military power, has taken place with but very little friction.

It is no more than a deserved tribute to Secretary Root to say that his far-seeing mind and master hand have brought about these results. He has had to contend with much, because many of the military men who were in the islands were firmly convinced that nothing but absolute

military control would avail in governing a people who had never known any other authority. There were others, however, who thought differently, and the Secretary was greatly aided by General MacArthur, who was military governor when the first attempt to introduce civil government was made, and who, in consequence, was shorn of his power. It is not too much to say that Secretary Root had a clearer vision, a broader and more comprehensive view, than any other man, even of those who had been in the islands, and who were supposed to understand the situation by reason of personal observation. It was Secretary Root who evolved the plans, who drew the instructions to the Taft commission, who gradually enlarged its powers, and who finally drafted the legislation of the last Congress, under which the islands are now governed.

THE OTIS ADMINISTRATION.

Six different officers have commanded the army of the United States in the Philippines. Brig.-Gen. Thomas M. Anderson was in command of the first expedition against the Spanish, which arrived on June 30, 1898, and remained in command until Maj.-Gen. Wesley Merritt arrived on July 25 of the same year. General Merritt remained in command but a short time, during which the battle of Manila was fought with the Spaniards and the Spanish rule brought to an end. General Merritt sailed for Paris on August 30, 1898, to give such information as he possessed to the Peace Commission, and Maj.-Gen. Elwell S. Otis took command. He was virtually the first American governor-general of the Philippines, acting under the direction of the President through the Secretary of War.

It was while General Otis was in command that the Philippine insurrection broke out, and Aguinaldo's army was chased all over the island of Luzon by soldiers of our regular army and State volunteers. He was also still in command when the new levies known as the United States Volunteers were raised and sent to the islands, to fight under Lawton, MacArthur, Young, Wheaton, Bates, Hall, the two Bells, Funston, Sumner, and others. General Otis was a most methodical man, and knew everything connected with the Philippine government. He brought to bear upon the problems presented to him not only a military training, but a legal and business education which made him invaluable to the Government. Under the direction of General Otis tariffs were made and modified, revenues were collected, and expenditures made. The Chinese were excluded by his order, and immigration and commercial laws made and en-

forced. He dealt with all questions, whether military or civil. He had the power of life and death; and his orders were supreme, whether in a case of murder or police offense, for all trials were regulated by the military, of which General Otis was the supreme head. His orders established a department of posts, provided an educational system, directed the construction of public works and improvements of various kinds, and, in fact, were the law for eight million people. I heard Secretary Root pay him a high compliment during a private conversation, when he said that the people of this country could never know how much they owed to General Otis. The careful regard he had for details, and the attention he gave to every part of the great affairs he controlled during his administration, prevented the extravagance that usually follows a war where so many troops are engaged. Not a breath of scandal or hint of corruption was ever heard in connection with the vast expenditures for military and governmental purposes during the time when General Otis was in command.

GENERAL MACARTHUR AND THE TAFT COMMISSION.

Maj.-Gen. Arthur MacArthur was made military governor on May 5, 1900, when General Otis, weary after two years' exhaustive work in a tropical country, was relieved, and returned to the United States. General Otis had appointed a board which had made a report upon a system of municipal government. He had also approved by military order, on July 22, 1899, a system of municipal local government in the island of Negros, which afterward became the basis of similar governments in other portions of the archipelago. When General MacArthur took command no change was made in the government of the islands, although it was in contemplation. The Taft Commission, consisting of the Hon. Wm. H. Taft of Ohio, the Hon. Luke E. Wright of Tennessee, Prof. Dean C. Worcester of Michigan, the Hon. Henry C. Ide of Vermont, and Prof. Bernard Moses of California, had been named. The comprehensive instructions under which the commission was to act had been prepared by Secretary Root and approved by President McKinley, and delivered to the commissioners on April 7. The commission did not depart at once, and it was not until September 1, 1900, that it began to carry out those instructions in the establishment of civil government in the Philippines.

General MacArthur still remained governor-general. He was the executive power, and to him the commission reported upon all matters pertaining to the government. The commission was the legislature, but acted by authority of the

President through the Secretary of War, and it was still under the war power that it performed such functions as were delegated to it. This included the establishment of civil governments in provinces and municipalities, making rules and orders for raising revenue, the expenditure of funds, the establishment of an educational system, organization of courts, and the further organization of a postal system. Various departments and bureaus for the administration of the government were established with the approval of the Secretary of War, and great progress was made in establishing civil governments in the pacified portions of the islands.

JUDGE TAFT BECOMES CIVIL GOVERNOR.

On July 4, 1901, another decisive step was taken. Maj.-Gen. Adna R. Chaffee, who had made such a brilliant record in China, succeeded General MacArthur as commander of the army in the Philippines, but he did not become governor-general. That office ceased to exist when General MacArthur relinquished his command. This was done by an order of Secretary Root issued on June 27, by which it was directed that the President of the Philippine Commission should, after July 4, exercise the executive authority in all civil matters that had previously been lodged in the military governor. Wm. H. Taft was appointed civil governor, and the instructions to the commission were continued in force. The military governor was relieved of civil duties save in those provinces where order had not been sufficiently restored to enable provincial governments to exist.

NATIVES PARTICIPATE IN THE GOVERNMENT.

It was under the new conditions that the most rapid progress toward civil government was made. Some friction occurred between the civil and military authorities, but as both were acting under the War Department, Secretary Root was able to adjust all the contentions, and, for the most part, in a satisfactory manner. In some provinces army officers continued to act as civil governors, but they reported to the civil governor of the islands. Occasionally they performed dual duties, being governors of provinces and commanders of detachments of troops, but generally it was the aim of the commission to have native officers, and, where necessary, they were supported by the military authorities. Sometimes it was found that these native officers, while holding their positions under the commission, were in league with the insurrectionists; but notwithstanding all such drawbacks, progress was made toward well-established civil government. Some army officers claimed it was a

failure, and that the islands must again revert to military control, but the success of the civil government refuted the assertions of the pessimists.

By an act of the Philippine Commission on September 1, 1901, with the approval of the Secretary of War, three native Filipinos were added to the commission,—Dr. T. H. Pardo de Tavera, Señor Bernito Legarda, and Señor José Luzuriaga. Filipino lawyers were given judicial positions, and wherever possible natives were utilized in the scheme of civil government.

TARIFF LEGISLATION—ACTION BY CONGRESS.

It was found necessary to revise the tariff, and this was done by the commission with a view to raising revenue and for the protection of Filipino interests. Then the draft of the proposed law was sent to the United States and published, and changes were made in the Insular Bureau of the War Department to meet suggestions made by those who were shipping goods to the islands from this country. When finally completed, it was enacted into law by the Philippine Commission. Other acts and laws necessary for the government of the islands were passed by the commission, both before Judge Taft was made civil governor and also afterward.

Such progress was made by the commission toward civil government that Congress was ready to legislate at its last session. The decisions of the Supreme Court in the insular cases made it necessary to pass a tariff bill both for the islands and for the commerce between the United States and the islands. For the Philippines the tariff of the commission was adopted as a whole, while the rates charged upon goods from the islands to the United States were made 75 per cent. of the present tariff rates on foreign products. But more important still was the general legislation for the islands known as the Philippine government bill. That act ratified and confirmed the action of the President in creating the Philippine Commission, the instructions to the commission, the creation of a civil governor, and establishment by the commission of the executive departments of the interior, commerce and public works, finance and justice, and public instruction. The law carried with it a ratification of the acts of the commission. But it went much further, and provided for many other things which were deemed for the benefit of the islands. The bill had been carefully prepared in the War Department. It received such amendments as Congress thought necessary, but continued the administration of the civil power through the Secretary of War.

THE ISLANDS NOW GOVERNED THROUGH THE
AMERICAN CONGRESS.

Congressional action marked an important epoch in Philippine affairs. Before that time the President had exercised authority as commander-in-chief of the army. Although civil government had been established, it was under the war power. Secretary Root's directions were laws for the islands. He could instruct the civil commission to do what he deemed necessary and it would be done. The commission was created by the President, and instructed by him through the Secretary of War. While there was civil government in the Philippines it was wholly in the hands of the President. The distinction was between military and civil in the Philippines, but there was little distinction in this country, as the President was the virtual head of the Philippine government, as the head of the army. So he is still, but the Congressional action limits his power. He can act only in accordance with the Philippine law. The Philippine Commission is the legislature for the islands under that law. It is still controlled by the President to the extent of appointment, but his appointments must be confirmed by the Senate. The commission is also restricted to the law, and cannot go outside of it. So the Philippines are actually governed by the people of the United States through Congress.

THE PHILIPPINE LEGISLATURE.

In accordance with the Philippine law preparations are being made for taking a census of the islands. This will be followed in two years by an election of delegates to an assembly, which, with the Philippine Commission, shall constitute the legislature of the Philippine Islands. This will be the last step for complete civil government, and while it will not give the people of the islands absolute home rule, it will give them such a voice in the control of their affairs as they never had before and could not expect under any proposed government by those who have been in insurrection against the authority of the United States. Before the legislature assembles Congress will no doubt pass additional

legislation, if it is found necessary in the scheme of Philippine government.

REDUCTION OF THE MILITARY FORCE.

Maj.-Gen. Geo. W. Davis relieved General Chaffee of the command of the army in the Philippines on September 30 of this year, but it is a small army compared with that which has been in the islands. General Otis commanded over 60,000 troops and General MacArthur 69,420. That was in December, 1900, when the army was the largest in the islands. With the growth of civil government there has been a rapid decrease in the army. General Davis succeeded to a command of less than 20,000 men, and this small army is for the most part inactive. Formerly the army was scattered over the country in small camps, doing police duty and keeping down roving bands of insurrectionists. The constabulary system of the civil government has relieved it of much of this duty, and the small camps are being abandoned and the present army concentrated at important points, where it can be called into action quickly if needed. Some military force is still necessary, and, in the judgment of the best military men, will be needed for some time to come, but the duty of the army as a governing power has ceased.

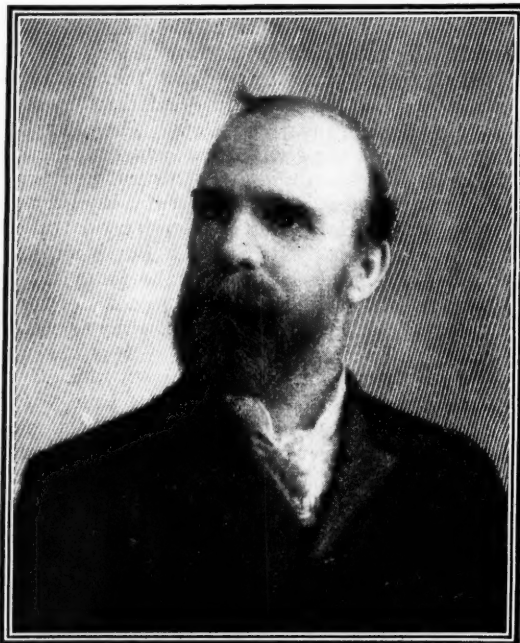
The absolute military government which General Otis exercised, and which for a time was in the hands of General MacArthur, is now changed to a government by the people of this country. This has been accomplished in two years, and is certainly one of the marvels of progress, considering all the conditions that have existed in the islands. It is the government of an alien people, speaking a different language from ours, with habits, tastes, and desires entirely different; a people unfamiliar with us and with our form of government, and with Anglo-Saxon ideas. In fact, they are yet far from our ideals, and many years will elapse before they reach our standard; but the progress made since the civil power supplanted the military gives promise of future development, and we may look forward with confidence to the success of the experiment the United States is making in the far East.



LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH.

THE END OF THE COAL STRIKE—PROFESSOR GUNTON'S VIEWS.

ALTHOUGH known more especially among economists as a sturdy advocate of the protective tariff, Professor George Gunton, of New York, has given much attention to labor questions,—particularly to the eight-hour day and the standard of living. For many years he has



PROFESSOR GEORGE GUNTON.

been a keen observer of the rise and development of labor unions in this country, and the subject has been discussed by him with great incisiveness and force in numerous articles contributed, from time to time, to *Gunton's Magazine*. Professor Gunton has not failed to discern the mistakes of the unions, nor has he hesitated to point them out. He has repeatedly insisted that the unions must be raised to a higher plane; that their responsibility must be increased; and, as a step in that direction, that trade unions, like business corporations, should become legal, chartered institutions.

Writing in the November number of his magazine on the issue of the recent coal strike, Professor Gunton says:

"A union is not only used to protect the rights and interests of the laborers, but under foolish, unwise management it is more frequently used to defend the inexcusable conduct of loose, irresponsible, and sometimes worthless laborers. It is this which has led, and very naturally, to the tendency to employ a larger number of miners than is really necessary. With such careless, irresponsible conduct, the mine-owners could only operate their mines half or two-thirds of the time. If the miners would work promptly,—as promptly as do mechanics and factory operators and laborers in other fields,—the employers would have no interest in encouraging a surplus of laborers merely to 'hang around.' Their earnings would be much greater, and the tendency to respectful mutual recognition would be altogether more general. It is the experience with this kind of conduct,—the reckless leaving of work, ordering strikes for mere whims, breaking of contracts and similar irresponsible acts,—that is the chief basis of the determination of the mine-owners not to recognize the unions."

In the bituminous coal mines of the Middle West the mutual contracts between the operators and the United Mine Workers are strictly kept, and "careless, irresponsible conduct" is not tolerated on either side. It is this form of arrangement which Mr. Mitchell desires to introduce in the anthracite region.

DIFFICULTIES BEFORE THE COMMISSION.

While Professor Gunton believes that the arbitration commission may succeed in establishing peaceful relations between the miners and the operators, he does not look for an immediate solution of the problem involved in the strike.

"As the operators have frequently stated, the conditions of work are so varied that it is practically impossible to have a uniform piece-work rule throughout the whole anthracite region. This is made the basis of the objection to recognize the general labor organization. Before the problem is satisfactorily solved a new basis of employment will be necessary in order that a substantially uniform system may prevail. If this is accomplished,—so that the same contract will furnish substantially the same results for all, and the unions become incorporated institutions, responsible for their agreements and the conduct of their members,—the foundation will have been laid for a workable relation between the miners and mine-owners, with union recog-

niton, without demoralization of management. It is in this line, and not in brute-force resistance to unions, that the peaceful solution of this vexed problem must be ultimately found."

MISTAKES OF THE OPERATORS.

Professor Gunton declares that the mining corporations, "in the manner of their propositions, the unreasonableness of their attitude, the errors of their statements," "have done more to justify socialism and stimulate the demand for public ownership of industries than a quarter of a century of socialistic agitation could have done."

"The public, who have suffered from the inconvenience and high price of coal, the anti-monopoly agitators and the sentimentalists who believe in government ownership, all have been strengthened in the idea that the Government should take charge of such industries as coal mining and other large enterprises. The effect upon public opinion in this direction has been so marked that the Democratic party in New York State has definitely declared in favor of government ownership of the coal mines. All this is extremely unfortunate for invested capital, for the public welfare, and for labor. That the corporations have been wrong in their attitude is demonstrated by the manner and method of the final adjustment which has taken place, and which could have taken place the first week of the strike, or before the strike began at all. But all the mistakes of the corporations are as nothing compared to the mistake of launching into a propaganda for public ownership of industry."

HOW NEW ZEALAND WOULD HAVE SETTLED THE COAL STRIKE.

A TIMELY article in the *Atlantic Monthly* for November, by Mr. Henry D. Lloyd, deals with "Australasian Cures for Coal Wars." Mr. Lloyd is chiefly occupied in contrasting the methods of dealing with labor troubles in New Zealand and other Australasian lands with the methods used in the United States, and very much to the disadvantage of the latter. He begins by telling how New Zealand has gone into the coal business on its own account:

HOW THE GOVERNMENT RUNS THE COAL MINES IN NEW ZEALAND.

"Appropriations have been passed, and powers delegated, to enable the general government to establish state coal mines. These will supply first the needs of the state,—as for its railroads, navy, and government buildings,—and then the needs of the public. And this political economy

of all by all for all puts it into the law that, as rapidly as the net receipts increase above 5 per cent., the price of coal to the public shall be lowered. Here, as in its railroad service, in the loans of public money to farmers and artisans, and in the subdivision among the landless of great estates resumed for the people, this democracy eschews profit-mongering, and does business on the plane of a social exchange of service for service at cost."

Mr. Lloyd thinks that the nervousness of our coal-mine owners in the United States as to the bringing in of "politics" only reveals their vulnerable heel. "'Politics,' the use by the people of their irresistible weapon, public coöperation, has made lambs of the coal monopolists on the other side of the globe."

EIGHT HOURS A DAY'S WORK.

One of the chief causes of the war in the Pennsylvania coal fields is the demand for a nine-hour day and the recognition of a union. Mr. Lloyd says that such disputes about hours do not take place in New Zealand.

That state first enacted that its coal miners should work no more than an average of eight hours a day, as Utah has done; and then, at the session of the Colonial Parliament last year, passed a general eight-hours-a-day law for all workingmen and a shorter day for working women and working children,—New Zealand, like the rest of Christendom, being still unchristian enough to rob many of its children to enrich a few of its men. New Zealand is the first state of modern times to bring its legislative regulation of men's hours of labor out from its cowardly refuge behind the petticoats and bibs and tuckers of their women and children. Other states have furtively limited the hours of men by the device of limiting the hours of the women and children who are working by their side."

THE RECOGNITION OF TRADES UNIONS.

The writer can see no force in the contention that the recognition of the United Mine Workers of America would make their leader "so powerful that he could name the next President of the United States, and become dictator to this President and all the rest of us." "The New Zealand democracy sees no danger of dictatorships from the recognition of trades unions. It has made the encouragement and recognition of trades unions part of the public policy of the state. Indeed, the workingmen are bribed to organize themselves into unions. They have been given powers to hold property and to sue members not possessed by unions in other countries. Greatest of all these inducements is that,

if so organized, the workingman gets as a right that arbitration of disputes with employers for which, elsewhere, he has to beg or fight, and usually in vain. New Zealand prevents labor wars by a multitude of democratic interventions to forbid economic violence by the strong upon the weak, like those just mentioned, which make it necessary to surrender for the chance to work, or to strike for hours and recognition of unions. Crowning all these interventions is this guarantee of arbitration."

HOW COMPULSORY ARBITRATION WORKS.

Mr. Lloyd thinks that the real cause of the labor war between the coal miners and the operators this past summer was the refusal of the employers to arbitrate. Such a cause would be impossible in New Zealand. Mr. Lloyd proceeds to explain what compulsory arbitration means there. It does not mean that the parties to a labor dispute must arbitrate the dispute. If they would rather fight, the laborers can go on and strike, and they can fight it out to their heart's content; but, if either party to the dispute asks for arbitration, then arbitrated the quarrel must be.

HOW OUR COAL STRIKE WOULD BE MANAGED IN NEW ZEALAND.

Mr. Lloyd proceeds to explain the various stages of the negotiations which, in New Zealand, would lead up to the final arbitrating of the trouble. One or both parties to a controversy are pretty sure to ask for arbitration, as the results of New Zealand's experience with labor problems have made the present provisions very popular.

"A private conference might be all; that failing, reference to the district board of conciliation; if either party were still dissatisfied, an appeal to the one national Court of Arbitration. A few weeks' work of committees; a few days in court for the witnesses and the representatives of the unions of the workmen and the capitalists; a few hours' deliberation for the five members of some Conciliation Board and the three members of the Arbitration Court. No riots, no troops, no agitation of capitalists, press, or philanthropists. Above all, no famine among the people, and no famine of industry, for,—most beneficent of all,—pending this appeal to arbitration, work must go on. Laborers are forbidden to strike, employers to lockout for the purpose of evading arbitration, though they may cease for any other reason. The peaceful New Zealand court-room of arbitration, with its table, about which the judges, the contestants, the witnesses, and interested citizens are grouped, is a

lens through which we Americans can look, with what satisfaction we may, at the spectacle we make of ourselves as 'practical' men."

COMPULSORY ARBITRATION AND GOVERNMENT BY INJUNCTION.

Mr. Lloyd argues that compulsory arbitration is not in any sense foreign to Anglo-Saxon liberty any more than such compulsion as taxation, eminent domain, conscription, education, and sanitation. He thinks the workingmen of America have rejected the Australian method only to submit to something far worse. This is the defeat of strikers by injunctions, often entailing imprisonment. The Australian workingman thinks a judge in an arbitration court much better than a judge "who sits in his star-chamber, dispensing government by injunction, with reserves of Gatling guns and generals on horseback just outside the door."

THE REQUIREMENTS OF COMPULSORY ARBITRATION.

Workingmen must form a union and register under the law before they can be summoned to arbitrate. If they wish to withdraw afterward, they can do so. Employers and employees may, if they wish, establish private arbitration tribunals of their own. In New Zealand the state does not compel arbitration. It only provides the place where and the way how. New South Wales has gone further, and has given the state the right to call the combatants in labor wars into court.

THE RESULTS OF AUSTRALASIAN ARBITRATION.

The decisions of the courts under the compulsory arbitration procedure have not been always in favor of the workingmen, though most of them have been. Some have gone heavily against labor, but the workingmen have always submitted. The trade unions have been much stimulated by arbitration, and the employers favor it; for, by it, they are safe from cut-throat competition by unscrupulous rivals who cut wages in order to cut prices, and they can make contracts ahead without fear of strikes, as awards are usually made to run for two years, and bind all in the trade. The Australian colonies are the only countries where the workingmen can have their representatives received, and their case fairly heard, and their living wage enforced, as a right. There, only, the supremacy of public opinion,—which, elsewhere, is a boast,—has been made a reality; for there only has public opinion clothed itself with the powers by which it can learn all the facts and enforce itself. Employers, clerks, and even books, can be brought into court to furnish the information necessary for a just and practical decision.

LABOR UNIONS : AS VIEWED BY COL. CARROLL D. WRIGHT.

EVENTS of the past few weeks have tended to enliven the interest of the American public in the subject of labor unions. It happens also that the public has a special reason, just at this time, for being interested in the views of Col. Carroll D. Wright, the head of the Department of Labor at Washington, who has been President Roosevelt's official adviser throughout the coal strike, and was named by the President as recorder of the arbitration commission.

An article on labor organizations by Colonel Wright would have been a capital "feature" for any of the American magazines to publish in their October or November numbers; but it was an English review, the *Contemporary*, that actually bagged the game.

In beginning his account of labor organizations in the United States for English readers, Colonel Wright naturally gives a summary of their history. He shows that labor organizations "constitute an integral part of our industrial development, and are really an influential feature of industrial achievement. Since 1825 the history of trade-unionism is a progressive one. Out of the earlier combinations there have grown some great associations or organizations, developing power and bringing to the attention of the country conditions which need reform and relations which call for the highest ethical influence to secure their proper adjustment; and it is sufficient in this place to say that, no matter what the opposition of any particular period was, or the character it assumed; no matter what antagonisms within disturbed the order of development; no matter how defections reduced the ranks of unionism at times, and jealousies prevented success; labor organizations have continued through success and failure, and their propaganda have extended first to all great interests, and ultimately to all parts of the land."

Colonel Wright notes the gradual change in the attitude of the courts toward the labor unions. Early in the last century the courts declared all such organizations to be conspiracies; but in later years they took the ground that these organizations were legitimate, and that efforts to secure increased remuneration were not efforts to restrain trade.

TYPES OF ORGANIZATION.

In describing the three types of unions recognized among trade-unionists,—the local, the national, and the international,—Colonel Wright says :

"The typical local union is made up entirely of members who live and work in one town or one restricted locality, and its business is conducted in the democratic way, by a vote of all the members meeting in one place. The national and international unions really constitute but a single type, though the formal distinction between them is carefully preserved in all trade-union literature. The typical national union aims at bringing under one control the workers in its trade in the United States; while the international union, so called, draws into its constituency the local unions of the United States, Canada, and sometimes Mexico. Local unions are the constituent elements of national and international unions, and the voting is done by delegates. Most of the national trade unions are affiliated to one great federal organization, known as the American Federation of Labor. The railway brotherhoods, so called, keep their separate organizations, without affiliating to any other body. There are some independent unions; while the Knights of Labor are a body entirely distinct from all other organizations, and have a different organic law.

STATISTICS OF MEMBERSHIP.

"It is difficult to ascertain the membership of unions. In Great Britain the law requiring registration enables the Government to state with fair accuracy the strength of unions in that country. According to the latest reports available, the English trade unions had a membership of 1,802,518, while in the United States,—with double England's population,—the estimated membership of labor organizations on July 1 last was 1,400,000. It is estimated at the present time that there are nearly 18,000,000 persons (men, women, and children) in the United States working as wage-earners. The percentage embraced in the labor unions is not large, therefore, being not more than 8 per cent. of the whole body. It must be remembered, however, that in many trades the members are organized up to a large proportion,—sometimes 90 per cent.—of the total number engaged."

The American Federation of Labor probably represents 850,000 members, and the Knights of Labor perhaps 200,000. The Order of Railway Conductors of America,—whose head, Mr. E. E. Clark, has been appointed on the Coal Commission,—has nearly 25,000 members; the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, over 34,000; the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, nearly 38,000; the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, about 44,000; and there are at least four other influential railroad organizations.

THE AIMS OF TRADE-UNIONISM.

"The objects of most trade unions are well represented in the declaration of the Federation of Labor, which demands eight hours as a day's work; favors the national and State incorporation of unions; urges the obligatory education of children, and the prohibition of employment under the age of fourteen; calls for the enactment of uniform franchise laws; and opposes contract convict labor and the 'truck' system of payment of wages. It favors the adoption of employers' liability acts, and generally indorses the claims of trade-unionism everywhere."

Some of the unions expend large sums in the form of benefits to members. The International Cigarmakers' Union has paid out, in this way, in the past twenty-one years the sum of \$4,737,550. The union has a membership of nearly 34,000.

LABOR UNIONS AND STRIKES.

Having made an exhaustive investigation of strikes in this country, Colonel Wright is prepared to say:

"As a rule, trade unions are opposed to strikes, and they declare themselves not in sympathy with the strike method of enforcing demands. They, of course, insist upon the right to strike, and the courts sustain this right. It is the almost universal attitude of courts in the United States that, if one man can leave his employment, two or more may do so, and that there can be no restriction upon this privilege. The courts hold, however,—as they do in England,—that intimidation and violence must not accompany strikes; and that the strikers themselves, in indulging in these things, are amenable to criminal law. Strikes are no longer considered as conspiracies, however."

Of the 22,793 strikes that occurred in the United States during the twenty years, 1881-1900, inclusive, labor organizations ordered 14,457, or 63 per cent. Of those so ordered, 52.86 per cent. succeeded; 13.60 per cent. partially succeeded; and 33.54 per cent. failed.

Colonel Wright recognizes the fact that the great organizations are growing more and more conservative, especially those represented in the American Federation of Labor. When the American Railway Union, in the Chicago strike of 1894, demanded a sympathetic strike of mechanics and artisans, this purpose was defeated by the executive committee of the American Federation. Again, in the great steel strike of 1901, the executive committee declined to advise a general strike, and in these two instances, as Colonel Wright well says, the Federation placed the whole country in its debt.

"To-day the most prominent leaders of all

labor organizations are joining hands with broad-minded employers, everywhere, in efforts to adopt the joint-committee method of settling disputes. They are learning from the experience of the mother-country that it is better to have such joint conciliation committees, before whom all grievances can be laid as soon as they arise, and by whom they can be talked over in a friendly, but interested way. Our most intelligent 'captains of industry' are thoroughly alive to this view, and in connection with organized labor they have a grand opportunity to accomplish results that shall be beneficial to themselves and to the community."

THE PRINCIPLE OF COLLECTIVE BARGAINING.

In the latter part of his article, Colonel Wright reaches the *crux* of the issues between employers and employed, which has had a fresh illustration in the coal strike:

"Trade-unionists have undertaken to secure recognition through a system known as collective bargaining, the adoption of sliding scales being a feature of this work. Collective bargaining has also been indorsed in many cases by employers, but occasionally,—as in the great Homestead strike in 1892, and some other labor conflicts,—the scale has been a prominent cause of difficulty. Employers sometimes resent the idea of collective bargaining, because, in carrying it out, there must be a recognition of the union. Men like Mr. John Pierpont Morgan, however, prefer to deal with well organized and administered trade unions as the medium through which to arrange questions of wages and other conditions of employment, rather than to subject themselves to the chaotic and unreliable results which are found when workmen act as individuals."

Colonel Wright says of the unions that, as a rule, they are friendly to machinery; "are studying practical, economic questions; and are not dragging upon industry. The exceptions to this rule are now so few that they need not be considered."

In concluding his article, Colonel Wright expresses the belief that the era of bitter antagonisms in the industrial world has passed:

"When the greatest capitalists of the country are ready to recognize and deal with unions, and to advocate the advantages, through conciliatory methods, which can come only through organizations, and to meet the leaders of labor unions in great conferences,—as they have done recently,—for the discussion of vital economic and moral questions, there need not be much fear of antagonism. The old suspicious attitude toward trade unions in the United States is practically a thing of the past."

THE RIGHTS OF NON-UNION WORKMEN AND OF UNION MEN.

"A QUARTER-CENTURY of Strikes" is the title of a series of articles dealing with the history and character of American labor organizations, written for the *Atlantic Monthly* by Ambrose P. Winston. The first article appears in the November number, and deals chiefly with the effect of wages on prices in competition; the success of the trade unions in establishing their influence throughout all industries; and, especially, with the policy of compelling membership in a union.

This compulsion exercised by the labor unions on non-union workers to become members or to accept a union scale, when these non-union workmen may desire neither membership nor the scale, has been generally denounced as a grave infraction of liberty, and is one of the most puzzling points in the whole labor question. Mr. Winston thinks the question is too complicated to decide, either in favor of the union or against it. He admits that it is a lamentable thing if a miner, or a man in any other employment, is denied the right to decide for himself what offer of wages it is his pleasure to accept.

"It is difficult to imagine an experience more vexatious or humiliating to a man of positive judgments and keen sensibilities than dictation on such a subject as this by a body of strangers. Certainly, so far as there is any such thing as an inalienable right, the privilege of freedom in this matter is inalienable. The case is not closed, however, until we have noticed the reasons on account of which the members of the union interfere. The union exists for the purpose of increasing or, at least, maintaining wages. Few would deny their right to do this if they can. The welfare of themselves and their families depends upon it most vitally, and it too is 'inalienable' if, indeed, there are rights sacred beyond question. But the men who voluntarily join trade unions,—if they are but a fraction of their craft,—cannot, alone, protect themselves against falling wages. If at any point in the whole line of competing producers a few workmen, by their submission, impair the equality of wages, it is hopeless for others to attempt to maintain their standard. The effect is a depression in prices where there has come a depression in wages; then, necessarily, a general decline in prices and a fall in all wages. This is the injury which the worker for low wages inflicts on those who seek by organization to increase wages. The pressure of competition, which has in recent times grown so intense, brings the fall of prices and of general

wages close after the first yielding by a body of laborers. One may conceivably condemn the method employed by workmen thus injured to defend themselves, but it cannot be denied that the injury is real; it cannot be denied that one is interested in what greatly injures him,—that one group of defenders in a beleaguered city are interested when negligence permits a breach at another part of the same wall,—that dwellers in far-away Mediterranean cities may, without impertinence, interest themselves in the pestilence-breeding but holy wells of Bombay, which the zeal of the faithful holds sacred against cleansing."

THE COLLECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY OF WORKMEN.

"The rise of labor unions means, then, first of all, that the determination of wages for each laborer and his conditions of work cease to be primarily his own affair; this, in order that wages may be uniform, and that thus the merciless downward pressure of present-day competition may be checked. There are recorded nearly five thousand strikes in the United States during twenty years, avowedly directed to this purpose of forcing the employer to deal collectively with the union. The responsibility for the fixing of wages shifts farther and farther from the individual workman, not only as the unions extend more widely over the nation, but also as the authority in one union and another becomes more centralized."

Mr. Winston goes on to show how the trade union is engaged in its second revolutionary task to deprive the employer of the power which he exercises at discretion of controlling the workmen in various matters not defined by the labor contract. In past years there has been much provision of savings deposits for employees, construction of model towns, with libraries, schools, lectures, good lunches at small prices, dressing-rooms and restaurants for the women, working-aprons and sleeves for women to wear over the street dress, elevators, Saturday half holidays with a full day's pay, etc. "Yet each of these philanthropies failed to insure the friendliness of the workmen and to restrain the hostility of the trade unions which, in their thorough-going work of taking from the employer all his discretionary power to complicate the exchange of labor for cash, have seemed to resent his use of that power even for benevolent purposes. It seems evident that the trade unions, so far as they gain strength, must terminate not only the evil, but the pleasant incidents of this discretion." Mr. Winston calls attention to the fact that the trade unions reduce the relations of employers and workmen to pure business, where paternal-

ism and benevolence have no place. He thinks it curious that business men of shrewdness unsurpassed should have imagined that their employees would permit others, in effect, to regulate their expenditure.

ANARCHISM AT CLOSE QUARTERS.

OF the various useful activities centering at Chicago Commons, the well-known social settlement, none is more interesting than the so-called "Free Floor"—a free-for-all gathering in the large assembly hall on Thursday evenings. It is because the Commons is situated in a "Red," or supposedly anarchistic, neighborhood that some ill-informed people have criticised these weekly conferences as inimical to the public peace and order. How wide of the mark such criticisms are is clearly shown in an article contributed to the October *Arena* by Dr. R. Warren Conant.

At each of these weekly meetings there is a speaker, invited beforehand by Dr. Graham Taylor, director of the Commons, who delivers an address on some economic or political topic of general interest. After he has finished, the chairman of the meeting invites those present to ask questions, which the speaker may answer or not as he chooses. Dr. Conant's account of "the subsequent proceedings" follows:

"As the address is usually quite conservative, while the audience is composed largely of anarchists, socialists, and various other stripes and breeds of 'ists,' it may readily be conceived that the invitation for questions is often the signal for pandemonium to break loose. The questions come thick and fast, many of them keen and searching, finding the vulnerable places in the speaker's logic, and he must have quick wits and a ready tongue to meet them all promptly and squarely. The chairman has a gavel, which he is obliged to wield vigorously in deciding questions of precedence and in maintaining order and decorum. Often it is necessary for him to hold questioners to the question. They start in to make wild speeches, but are promptly required to confine themselves to one question and nothing else—an excellent discipline. The fellow who has been accustomed to hear his vaporings received by saloon audiences with howls of delight and encouragement learns at the Free Floor what it is to be called to order, and to be compelled to speak to the question or sit down.

ANARCHIST ORATORY.

"When the chairman thinks that enough questions have been asked and answered, he may throw the meeting open to short speeches,

not to exceed three minutes each, and not to wander widely from the subject of the evening. This is a much-prized opportunity. In such a crowd there are always would-be orators eager to air their theories and notions, and they spring to their feet gesticulating wildly to catch the chairman's eye. It is a comical sight."

The three-minute rule, strictly enforced by the chairman, remorselessly cuts short the flow of eloquence, but it is good discipline for the man who gets the floor.

Usually good humor prevails, "but sometimes there is wild commotion; faces scowl, fists clench, voices clash, and a riot seems imminent." At such times the chairman pounds with his gavel for order and tries to say something that will close the incident in a general laugh. As he is successful in this effort, according to Dr. Conant's account, he must be a shrewd and tactful chairman.

At these meetings the visitor gets a glimpse of modern social conditions from the working-man's point of view, and, if he is of an open mind, he may be surprised to perceive how partial and one-sided some of his own views have been. "Even from the poor speakers a valuable lesson is to be learned,—from the poor, stammering, stumbling fellows, who pour forth a wild jumble of broken logic and broken facts in broken English. Often they become quite incoherent in their ravings against capital and in the recital of their 'wrongs.' The audience partly applauds, partly laughs at them, but really it is too pitiful to be amusing.

"What a mental chaos, scarcely distinguishable from insanity! While abhorring their sentiments, the hearer is filled with pity at the sight of human souls groping in such mental and moral darkness. Yet these men are fellow-citizens and voters. Such a one was Czolgosz; perhaps, if he could have had the benefit of the instruction, discipline, and good-fellowship of the Free Floor, President McKinley might be alive to-day."

A GOOD SCHOOLING FOR SOCIAL INSURGENTS.

The restrictions placed on the anarchist speakers are wholesome in every way, and can hardly fail to have an educative value:

"All Red talk is strictly forbidden; no one is allowed to abuse the freedom of the meeting by advocating either murder or robbery in any form. Think what all this signifies for the anarchists! They come to the Free Floor to receive, as they suppose, entertainment only; really they are being taught the first principles of good citizenship,—principles that they would not accept in any other form. In the first place, they hear the truth of economic and political ques-

tions, presented without the distortions of the anarchistic press and platform. They learn to listen to distasteful doctrines in silence; to take their turn in speaking, both giving and receiving respectful attention; to speak to the point; to clothe their vague ideas in concrete form; to restrict their speech,—selecting, condensing, and differentiating; to give and receive hard knocks without getting angry; to keep order and submit to authority. What an unconscious schooling in the lessons that are most fatal to the spirit of anarchy!"

The Free Floor serves as a safety-valve. As Dr. Conant says, it is far better that men and women who are bitter with a sense of wrongs should vent their bitterness under reasonable restrictions, and then be answered by a well-informed and logical speaker, than that they they should "gather in a filthy saloon to be inflamed by the unrestrained, beer-inspired mouthings of ignorance or demagoguery."

WANTED: COMPETENT SPEAKERS.

The difficulty at Chicago Commons, as it appears, is not in getting an audience, but rather in finding effective speakers to give instruction:

"It is a rare man or woman who can face and answer effectively such a crowd, fanatic and shrewd, having no respect for God, man, or devil. I have seen speakers, who could make very impressive addresses from pulpit or platform to a well-dressed, well-fed audience that was already convinced, go all to pieces before a Commons audience. Reverend gentlemen, who have been accustomed to deliver themselves with unction to hearers who would never think of being so rude as to dispute them, are unpleasantly jarred by an audience that does not hesitate to tell the speaker that he does not know what he is talking about, disputes his facts, and denies his most sacred premises. Under this baiting speakers act variously, according to their temperaments; they may wax indignant and sarcastic, or, after a feeble defense, throw up their hands and admit that they may be wrong after all, and the anarchists may be right!"

"On the other hand, a strong man or woman, of self-control and quick wits, who understands that audience beforehand, can give them shot for shot good-humoredly, knock over their delusions and sophistries with the truth, command their respect and liking, and do them great good. No man can do this who stands up before an anarchistic crowd saying in his heart, 'These are violent fools whom I am here to instruct;' he will end by being taught some things that he did not know before. The speaker who is to do such people any good

must come to them in a sympathetic spirit, prepared to admit that the present social order contains much wrong that should be righted; prepared to declass himself sufficiently to look at the economic situation through their eyes and to sympathize frankly with their real grievances; prepared to waive any preconception whenever it comes in conflict with elemental truth; and helpful in pointing out the practical and immediate remedies. In short, he must be a straightforward, fearless man, if he is to lead perverted minds and hearts to see that peace is better than violence, saving better than wasting, ballots better than bullets."

THE STORY OF A RUSSIAN REFORMER.

"THE Reminiscences of the Russian Reformer, Prince Khilkoff," is the title of a book that is to appear at the end of this year. In *La Revue* for September 1 and 15, M. Jean Finot publishes some very interesting extracts from this book. Prince Khilkoff's views do not exactly accord with those of Tolstoy, whom, nevertheless, he greatly admires. But he is extremely sympathetic with Tolstoy, and his life shows the Tolstoyan doctrines in actual working. In views he is, however, more Marxian than Tolstoyan.

At the age of seventeen,—in 1875,—he entered on a military career; but very soon he noticed, with horror, that most of his superiors thought only of their own advancement, and considered the soldiers as so much "cannon flesh." The first time he killed a Turk it seemed to him he was a murderer, and he was haunted by the face of the dead man. When the war was over he asked to be, and was, transferred to a regiment of Cossacks. He was to winter among the Doukhobors, and was at once struck with their happy homes, their physical beauty, and the absence of servility and brutalization.

A CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST.

At last he contrived to leave the army. Already, absurd tales were being circulated about him; he was accused of socialism, and his relations with some political exiles had won him official hostility. On leaving the Caucasus he went to his mother's estates at Pavlovki (Kharkoff). Mother and son could not agree. The final rupture occurred over an orchard. The mother insisted that men must be engaged to drive off the thievish peasants. The son was made miserable by seeing a swarm of children looking enviously at the apple trees laden with fruit.

"This time I called them and told them that

they might come into the orchard and eat as many apples as they wanted, and even take some home. At first they did not believe me, but afterward they decided to come. Formerly, all night long, stones rained on the apple trees; but, now that the orchard was open in the day, no one thought of going there at night. The caretakers could sleep in peace. When gathering-time came I distributed half the fruit among the families of the old men, who, in my grandfather's time, had planted the fruit trees. The remainder was sold for 200 rubles."

The prince had come to consider the land not as personal property, but as a loan which ought one day to be returned to those who plowed it. He accepted his mother's offer of part of the land on condition that he should not interfere with the other part. He reserved a small piece for himself, meaning to let the rest. He built himself a small dwelling, procured some bees, and studied bee-culture. As literature he had Tolstoy's "My Confession" and the Bible. Perhaps, but for two circumstances, his reforms would have stopped there. One day, when riding, he saw a peasant plowing, whose horses were eating some young oaks. He was angry, and spoke sharply to him about it.

"Then he turned his plow, and I found myself face to face with him. Never in my life had I seen such a face, and I have never seen one since,—the face of a skeleton, with greenish skin stretched over prominent bones, and, sunk in their orbits, sinister eyes looking at me. I was as if nailed to the ground, without being able to take my eyes off this melancholy sight.

"He answered me quietly: 'As for me, I have eaten nothing for three days.'"

The prince fled in horror, only to come on a poor woman picking up dead wood, who ran away from him as fast as she could for the boggy ground and her feeble state.

Then he decided to hand over the land to the peasants at the price of the mortgage, on condition that they would go bail for the value. He took a peasant to live with him, at first, in the midst of the village, and finally married a young girl who shared his views. He worked on the land, and busied himself with his bees, and hoped to continue doing so in peace. But then the police began to watch him.

For a long time he had not gone to church. "Why not?" asked the peasants. "Because I dislike the cynical way the clergy treat what they profess to believe," he had replied. The peasants applied to him to deliver them from the rapacity of the priests (rapacity for which there seems some excuse, since they are miserably paid). Some of the peasants ceased to

go to church; others asked questions about the Bible. Result, an accusation of having left the Orthodox Church, an accusation to which Prince Khilkoff frankly pleaded guilty. He was, however, soon set at liberty.

HIS CHILDREN ABDUCTED.

Then his mother, hoping he would soon abandon his follies and live the life of other men (this part is all singularly like Tolstoy's "Resurrection"), sought out his wife, hoping to find an ally in her; but the wife faithfully seconded her husband. Now, the marriage not having been blessed by the Orthodox Church, the children had no right to the title or fortune of their family. The old princess, unable to understand such a state of things, by dint of long scheming carried off the children. Before this, however, the prince was condemned to exile in Transcaucasia for five years, where, after six months, his wife and two children joined him. Not many months later the commissioner of police arrived from Tiflis with an order from the emperor for the children to be taken away. The story of how the old princess schemed to get them away; how they were abducted by force; how the father and mother pursued them, but in vain; is very graphically and pitifully told. They are still separated from their parents, though two more have since been born.

When the time of exile was over, Prince Khilkoff stayed for some time in England and France, and finally settled at Geneva, where he is now living in the midst of a small band of Russian exiles, Tolstoyans, and revolutionaries.

THE BOHEMIAN QUESTION IN AUSTRIA.

WILL Bohemia prove to be a bulwark against German expansion? There is a long and elaborate article in the *National Review* for October, in which Dr. Karel Kramarz pleads the cause of the Bohemian Czechs, which is, he maintains, at the same time the cause of Austrian survival. The essence of the Bohemian problem, he says, is whether the Czechs will or will not succeed in maintaining their position, and in gaining so much influence throughout Austria that they can work effectively in the direction of maintaining the whole kingdom of the Hapsburgs against the aspirations of German Chauvinism. The Czechs fight against the false idea that Austria is a German state; and they are thus, in reality, the support of the monarchy—a fact which, unfortunately, is not yet recognized by the Viennese bureaucracy. It is, in reality, the good fortune of Austria and her dynasty that the overwhelming majority of the people

are not German. Only by the recognition of this fact can Austria be saved from German ambition, which is to reduce her to dependence by means of annexation, or by her inclusion in the German customs union.

BOHEMIA AS THE FOE OF GERMANISM.

The Bohemian national question is therefore an all-European question. Without a completely independent Austria the road would lie open for the establishment of Germany as a world-power of such magnitude as the world has not yet seen. It would be a compact empire with natural boundaries; from the military point of view it would be invincible, economically strong, endowed and enriched with innumerable natural treasures, and enhanced by the methodical energy of German economic life. It would have splendid markets in the Balkan states, and, through the Bagdad railway, in Asia Minor and Persia. Germany, in such conditions, would form a world-empire worthy of the dreams of the national party; but it could only be established on the ruins of the historical balance of power in Europe.

THE DEMANDS OF THE CZECHS.

Dr. Kramarz does not think that this peril will ever occur, as the Czechs are too numerous to submit permanently to the centralizing and Germanizing policy of the Viennese government. The Czechs only demand that all races should have equal rights; and the electoral manipulations which give the Germans a majority in some Slav districts cannot be maintained. The majority of the Austrian population will never allow itself to be compelled to submit to humiliation at the hands of the German minority. The Austrian government has borrowed many laws from Berlin, but they have never borrowed the law which would be their greatest strength,—that is, the federal constitution, as the German party sees its last defence in the maintenance of the system of German centralized bureaucracy.

THE CZECHS AS AUSTRIA'S FRIENDS.

The Germans in Germany support their brethren in Austria because they see that the strengthening of Germanism in Austria involves the making of Austria an appendage of Germany. To prevent this, fate has planted the Bohemian race in the heart of Europe,—in the midst of the ocean of German influence,—to form a barrier which prevents the German flood from swamping all from the North Sea to the Adriatic. The Czechs are an arrow in the side of Germany, and such they wish to and must remain. They are struggling, not merely for the national right

of the Slav races to their own individuality, but also on behalf of Austria and her complete foreign independence.

CARDINAL GOTTI AND THE PROPAGANDA.

IN choosing a successor to the late Cardinal Ledochowski as head of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda, the Pope went outside the congregation itself and appointed a member of the Carmelite order, Cardinal Gotti. From the fact that this high office is regarded by Catholics as second in importance to that of the supreme pontificate itself, an unusual degree of interest attaches to this appointment. An



CARDINAL GOTTI.

article in the *Catholic World* for October, by James Murphy, answers several questions that have been asked by those less fully informed concerning the personal predilections of Cardinal Gotti, and supplies at the same time much interesting information about the nature and functions of the Propaganda itself.

In the phraseology of the Roman public, according to this writer, there are three popes,—“the White Pope,” who is the supreme pontiff himself; “the Black Pope,” or the superior-general of the Jesuit order; and “the Red Pope,” or the prefect of the Propaganda.

THE NEW “RED POPE” A MATHEMATICIAN.

Cardinal Gotti, who has now become “the Red Pope” of Roman parlance, is in his sixty-

ninth year. His father was a Genoese dock laborer. Soon after joining the Carmelite monks, in his boyhood days, the future cardinal showed an unusual bent toward physical science, and he became professor of mathematics and natural philosophy in the College of St. Ann.

"Even to this hour Cardinal Gotti shows the keenest interest in the progress of the world's thought on physics, and in all new mechanical inventions and devices, and his apartments at the Trajan Forum were almost congested with books and periodicals on these subjects, which kept pouring in from various quarters of the globe. It is believed that under Cardinal Gotti's influence the study of mechanical science will assume a much more important position than heretofore in the curriculum of the Propaganda College.

AN ECCLESIASTICAL DIPLOMAT.

"Young Gotti rapidly rose in the ranks of his order until he obtained the position of provincial, which gave him the opportunity of traveling. He became known at the Vatican for the keenness of his judgment, revealed as consultant of the Sacred Roman Congregations. His appointment as delegate apostolic for various special missions to South American republics followed, and his success while administering this function in Brazil gave him prominent rank among the diplomats of the Church.

"Pope Leo XIII. had long shown a special predilection for him, and in the Consistory of November 29, 1895, he created him cardinal, with Santa Maria della Scala as his titular church. Later he was appointed prefect of the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, and member of the Congregations of the Holy Office, the Index, Rites, Indulgences, and Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs. He is also protector of the Archconfraternity of St. Anthony of Padua, of the Venerable Company of the Stigmata of St. Francis in Florence and in Filottrano.

"Personally, Cardinal Gotti is of medium stature, has a small, oval face, a fresh complexion, and a bright, cheerful aspect that makes him look younger by three or four decades than he really is."

At Rome the new prefect of the Propaganda is regarded as essentially a bureaucrat, exacting in all matters of method, discipline, and order.

"It is said of him that no other cardinal in Rome can give such immense concentration to the handling of matters of detail, that he has the infinite capacity for taking pains which is one of the marks of genius. This fact probably explains in a great measure his remarkable success as a diplomat. His diplomacy has nothing of the crafty or pettifogging about it. It was the

simplicity and lucidity of his work while at the Apostolic Legation in Brazil that won for him his first public triumphs."

THE PROPAGANDA AND ITS OFFICES.

The special duties of the Propaganda relate to the spiritual and temporal administration of the missions, the settlement of their controversies, the sending of missionaries into countries that are to be evangelized, and the nomination of bishops and of vicars-apostolic.

"The *personnel* of the congregation consists at this hour of twenty-five cardinals, one of whom is prefect, Cardinal Gotti, and another of whom is *Prefetto dell' Economia*, or supervisor of the finance department, Cardinal Antonio Agliardi. Cardinal Gibbons is one of the members of the congregation. The secretary is usually a titular bishop, at present Monsignor Luigi Vecchia. He is aided sometimes by a substitute—the post is at present vacant—and by an apostolic protonotary, Monsignor Luigi Pericoli. It further comprises thirty-eight consultants, of whom fifteen are monks, four *minutanti*, or high bureaucratic officials, and an archivist. The only American at present in the list of consultants is the Most Rev. John Joseph Keane, archbishop of Dubuque.

"For the temporal administration of the Propaganda there exists the following positions: a chief of administration, a comptroller, a *minutante*, a cashier, an architect, a director of the Polyglot Press, a jurisconsult, and an attorney, all of whom are laymen. The general congregation is held once a month, on Mondays. It is held under the presidency of the Pope only on the occasion of the transaction of unusually important business. Every week a 'congress' convenes, composed of the cardinal prefect, the secretary, and the *attachés*.

"The work of the congregation is now supplemented by that of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda for Affairs of Oriental Rite. This subsidiary congregation owes its origin to Urban III., who in the early part of the seventeenth century, formed it for the correction of books of Oriental rite. It was formally organized by Benedict XIV. one hundred and fifty years ago. In 1862, Pius IX. reconstructed it and extended its operations to all Oriental business. It is now composed of fourteen cardinals, with Cardinals Gotti and Agliardi at the head. Its secretary is Monsignor Antonio Savelli-Spinola. It has nineteen consultants, four *minutanti*, and four interpreters, all ecclesiastics. Several minor commissions for matters of detail exist within the Congregation of the Propaganda."

OVERSIGHT OF "MISSION COUNTRIES."

All the "mission countries," so-called, are put in charge of the Propaganda. These countries are: In Europe, Great Britain, and Ireland, Norway and Sweden, Holland, Denmark, Russia, Northern Germany, Saxony, Anhalt, Schleswig-Holstein, part of the Grisons, the Balkan Peninsula, and Greece; in Asia, all except the Portuguese colonies; in Africa, all except Algeria, the Canary Islands, Ceuta, and Reunion; in America, the United States, Guiana, Patagonia, the West Indies and the Antilles, with the exception of Cuba, Hayti, Guadeloupe, and Martinique; in Oceania, all except the Philippines. (In the view of the Roman hierarchy, the Philippines are in a higher administrative class than the United States.)

"The official representatives of the Holy See in the mission countries are the apostolic delegates, the apostolic vicars, and the apostolic prefects.

"The apostolic delegation constitutes a more or less extended jurisdiction accorded by the Pope to a secular or regular prelate over a certain number of dioceses, of apostolic vicariates, or of prefectures, without distinction of rites.

"The apostolic vicariates are territories, or parts of territory, the spiritual administration of which is turned over by the Holy See to individual prelates. Ordinarily the vicars-apostolic are bishops and have a titular see. They are chosen by the propaganda, which lays down specifically the limitations of their jurisdiction. It sometimes happens that vicariates are raised to the rank of bishoprics, without, however, ceasing to be part of the mission countries. This was the case in England when, on September 29, 1850, Pope Pius IX. reestablished the nation's hierarchy.

"Apostolic prefects are chiefs of missions who are not bishops. They are simple missionaries, seculars, or monks, invested by the propaganda with certain special powers. Apart from the faculty of conferring the major orders, priesthood, diaconate, and sub-diaconate, they often exercise all the powers of a bishop. They may give the tonsure and confer minor orders, move as they will their subordinate clergy, broaden or restrict the rights and privileges intrusted to the missionaries, inspect churches, address pastoralists to the faithful, and administer the sacrament of confirmation.

"The United States and Canada are among the apostolic delegations; North Carolina, Arizona, and Indian Territory, in the United States, are apostolic vicariates. Alaska is a prefecture apostolic, the prefect apostolic being a Jesuit father."

THE BRITISH AND AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL SITUATION.

THE points of contrast in the present educational situation in England and the United States were clearly brought out in an address recently delivered at Columbia University by Dr. Michael E. Sadler and published in the October number of the *Educational Review*.

As the result of more than twenty years of education on modern lines in the United States, Dr. Sadler recognizes here a "strong type of keen-witted, hard-working, self-controlled young men, and a very influential and public-spirited multitude of college women." He thinks that here, more than in England, "the young man is having his innings."

THE AMERICAN SENSE OF OPPORTUNITY.

Dr. Sadler is not disposed to give the schools exclusive credit for this fine type of young men. "Something else was needed to produce that. I mean, the sense of wide opportunity. More and more do I come to feel that this is one of the central reasons for certain differences between your secondary schools and ours. An American boy feels that, if he works hard, shows sense, and keeps bright, he is bound to find opportunity of success. An English boy grows up with a puzzled wonder where in his crowded island he will find a promising opportunity for professional success, or even for industrial or commercial effort congenial to his taste and appropriate to his level of general education. This baffling sense of a strangely limited horizon of personal opportunity is one of the subtle causes of our present educational hesitancy. Can you wonder that so many of our most active-minded educators and statesmen feel it essential to the free development of our national vigor and intelligence that our boys should be taught to think of their after-life in terms—not of England alone—but of empire?"

As a kind of corollary of this confident outlook on life, Dr. Sadler finds that our boys and girls have much more choice in their studies than the English youth have. Furthermore,—"the English student is struck by the fact that your American schoolboys and schoolgirls are much more openly critical of their teachers than English boys and girls are commonly encouraged to be. I fancy that the career and happiness of a teacher in America depend much more largely, than with us in England, on the suffrages of those who are taught. This must certainly stimulate adaptiveness on the part of the teachers—though I am inclined to suspect that there is a rather darker side to the situation

than at first sight appears. Anyway, if the jargon of political philosophy permitted it, I should be tempted to define American educational government as a paidocracy—tempered by expert superintendence on short tenure."

THE EDUCATIONAL MOVEMENT OF TO-DAY.

In his remarks on the efforts being put forth in this country to adjust school curricula to new social conditions, Dr. Sadler shows a keen appreciation of the actual situation, with its serious difficulties:

"It is an old commonplace that schools and colleges exist to prepare us for life. The difficulty is for them to know how to do it when the conditions of social economic life are changing with a rapidity almost, if not quite, unparalleled in the history of human culture. You in America seem to me to be engaged in an immense effort to get your schools and colleges into true gear with the practical needs of life. Hence you are tearing out in all directions those portions of subjects or parts of curricula which seem to you unessential. But the difficulty is to say with certainty what are the essentials. And, as life is becoming more and more differentiated, there arises a need for much greater differentiation in types of school. Moreover, this differentiation is not a matter of the last few years of high-school or college life. Its demands affect much earlier years of education than those. And the differentiation is required not only by the difference in life-aims of the pupils, but by far more subtle differences in temperament, in mental aptitude, and in ethical need. This is the true cause of the educational unrest which we can see all over the world at the present time. This is a period of educational ferment, comparable, as it seems to me, to that earlier period of educational ferment which preceded the French Revolution. Much that looks like progress and constructive advance in education at the present time is really the working of a critical and destructive movement washing away the more obstinate fragments of an obsolete system of education, which, in its time, had a very real relation to the actual needs of certain kinds of life.

"To me, the educational movement now going forward in America seems the most striking and forceful of all the educational movements in the world. It is on the largest scale; it is supported by the most superb liberality; it is the boldest in its ventures; it is becoming—largely through the influence of the president of Columbia—truth-seeking and truth-inspiring; scientific in its dispassionate self-criticism; and it is supported by the most whole-hearted national

enthusiasm. We educational students in other lands hail its great achievements and its still more brilliant future. Silent admiration best befits us when we think of the future of your great universities—and of what their influence already is and will be on their sisters in the Old World. The science and art of education are being profoundly influenced by your work here in the training of teachers; by your experimental schools; and not least by the currents of suggestion and of encouragement which go out from Teachers College and from the department of education in this university, at Clark University, and at Chicago. You in America, and not least the educators of the West, are working out fertile experiments in the field of secondary education on modern lines. You from the North are carrying the torch of educational propaganda over the length and breadth of the awakening South. And in the great work at Hampton and Tuskegee there is shaping itself in successful practice that ideal of training which seeks at once to deepen character, to engender loyalty to a great institution, to educate for the practical labors of life, and to avoid, in its cultivation of the powers of mind, of character, and of expression, any disproportionate use of books, or of ill-digested ideas, and of the verbal memory."

THE STRENGTH AND THE WEAKNESS OF BRITISH EDUCATION.

In two brief paragraphs Dr. Sadler gives a most interesting summary of what he regards as the essential points of strength and weakness in the British educational system:

"The strong points of the best types of English education seem to me to be an unhurried, steadfast pleasure in the great masterpieces of literature; its dislike of false sentiment; its reserve and wholesomeness of tone; its shrinking from pretentious philosophizing; the good spirit of its games; the beauty of some of its old buildings and playgrounds; the unselfish and lifelong devotion of its best teachers; the training which it gives in the government of others and in the leading of men; and in its undercurrent of reverence for those deeper, unseen things which lie almost beyond the reach of words.

"Its weakness lies in its lack of widely diffused intellectual interest; in its failure to stimulate the brain-power of the average boy; in its deficiencies in regard to the professional training of the teacher; in the aloofness of so great a part of the studies in many of our chief secondary schools from the scientific, political, and ethical problems of the present day; in its ignorance of what scientific research and scientific coöperation really mean; in its good-natured

reluctance to press to a logical and practical conclusion some things which must be settled one way or the other, and cannot (without peril) be left in the dim region of indefinite compromise; in the indistinctiveness of its intellectual and social aims; in its unwillingness to attempt a bold questioning of the lessons of our history, and to impress definite teaching derived therefrom on the whole of the rising generation of our people; in the resultant confusion of our school system; in the labyrinthine intricacy of its organization; and in its consequent failure to impress itself on the imagination and clear understanding of the masses of the people."

ENGLAND'S CONSERVATISM.

In concluding his address Dr. Sadler harks back to the essentially conservative temper of British institutions:

"We are unwilling to sever ourselves from our old ties, or to dispense with old guides and teachers whom we love for their own sakes, and not only because they have served us so devotedly and well. You must expect us to be slow in our educational changes. England is not lethargic, but profoundly moved by the swirling currents of change in our modern life. It would be wrong for us to break with our past. We can best do our duty for the world in the future if we refrain from impetuous, revolutionary change. But because this is our lot in this time of deep unrest—because there is laid on us the duty of sacrificing much that is good and profitable in the present, in order that we may be faithful to what is true and sacred in the past; because it is now, as ever, our supreme national task to preserve what is good in two ideals which, though they appear to conflict, are really two sides of one higher truth,—for these very reasons we admire the more the superb sweep of your educational advance, your clear administrative aims, and the rich variety of your buoyant life."

EUROPE VERSUS AMERICA.

MR. ANDREW CARNEGIE'S rectorial address delivered at St. Andrew's University, Edinburgh, is printed in the November *World's Work*. Mr. Carnegie makes a rapid review of the world's recent industrial changes and present tendencies, and inquires into the reasons that have brought the United States so rapidly into its present position of industrial ascendancy.

NEW IMPORTANCE OF RAW MATERIALS.

The position of capital and skilled labor, as regards raw materials, is now reversed. For-

merly, the first two controlled the last; now, the seat of manufacture is simply a question where the requisite raw materials are found under suitable conditions. The cotton industry—for instance,—was attracted from Old to New England, and is now attracted from it to the Southern States alongside the raw material. The jute industry—once centered in Dundee,—is now established in India near the supply of jute.

THE CHANGE IN BUSINESS METHODS.

A second reason for the reversal of the positions of Britain and America, as industrial powers, is given by Mr. Carnegie in the change in business methods which has come in the past twenty years. Manufacturing has been revolutionized by new inventions, improved machinery, and new and enlarged demands. So rapidly does one improvement follow another that some parts of the huge concerns are constantly undergoing reconstruction. Old-established works are at a serious disadvantage,—especially if under joint stock ownership,—because it is difficult to get from numerous small owners the capital needed for modern improvements; hence, the old countries—and particularly Britain, the pioneer,—have been at a disadvantage, as compared with the new American land with its clean slate to begin upon.

THE UNITED STATES, BRITAIN, AND GERMANY, WITH RUSSIA COMING.

Mr. Carnegie shows how Germany has forged ahead in the race toward industrial supremacy, her product of steel being now second among the world's nations. "She promises to run Britain close, perhaps by the end of the decade, for second place as a manufacturing nation." These three countries are the important industrial nations: The United States, Britain, and Germany. Mr. Carnegie excepts "that giant of the future,—Russia,—whose latent resources are enormous, and whose growth is so steady, not only through increase of population, but through accretions of contiguous territory; she must occupy a great position, but not in our day, nor, perhaps, in the next generation."

THE HOME MARKET ALL IMPORTANT.

Throughout his lengthy discussion, Mr. Carnegie continually insists on the vital importance of a profitable home market as the most powerful weapon for conquering foreign markets. The nations with the best home-demand for any article will finally conquer the world's trade in that article in neutral markets. "In economic circles 'the law of the surplus,' as I have ventured to call it, attracts increasing attention.

Manufacturing establishments are increased year by year until they become gigantic, simply because the more made the cheaper the product, there being a score of cost accounts divisible by product. By giving men constant employment, and having a reputation for never stopping, the best men are attracted and held—an important point. The manufacturer upon a large scale can afford to make many contracts in distant parts of the world, and even some at home, at a direct loss in times of depression, knowing that, upon the whole, the result will be less unprofitable by running full, than running short, time or stopping. Hence, those possessing the most profitable home market can afford to supply foreign markets without direct profits, or even at a loss, whenever necessary."

THE QUESTION OF POPULATION.

The second most important factor in the industrial development of nations is population, since increased numbers expand the home market. Mr. Carnegie shows that the United States is increasing three times as rapidly in population as the United Kingdom, and more rapidly than Germany, which is also before the United Kingdom in rate of increase.

A THIRD FACTOR, UNTILLED FERTILE SOIL.

Finally, the American Union has a vast advantage in its resources of untilled fertile soil. Wherever food products can be grown profitably, people will increase until the limit of food supply is reached. America is consuming more and more of its own supplies; it already manufactures as much of its enormous cotton crop as Britain imports, and not more than 10 per cent. of all its field crops, except cotton, are ever exported.

THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF HOME AND FOREIGN MARKETS.

Mr. Carnegie calls attention to the vastly greater importance of the home market, as compared with the foreign market. Exchange of products benefits both buyer and seller; hence, home commerce is doubly profitable. Further, products bought and manufactured at home do not enable a foreign country to compete with the home country; the home market of America takes 96 per cent. of the manufactured articles; only 4 per cent. goes to foreign markets. Even Britain takes four-fifths of her own manufactures. "Politicians give far too much attention to distant foreign markets, which can never amount to much; and far too little to measures for improving conditions at home, which would increase the infinitely more important home

market." Mr. Carnegie continually recurs to and emphasizes this theory that the home market is the first consideration.

OTHER DISADVANTAGES OF BRITAIN.

Mr. Carnegie says that people in the United Kingdom, both employers and employed, fail to give the requisite attention and energy to business, regarding it only as a means to obtain entrance into another rank of society; both classes take life too easy. He advises employers to give their ablest employees shares in the business, and says that "the great secret of success in business, and of millionaire-making, is to make partners of valuable managers of departments. The contest between the old and the new lands to-day resembles that between professionals and amateurs." In efficiency of labor the Continent has a great advantage over Britain, and America over the Continent. It is not the lowest, but the highest paid labor, with scientific management and machinery, which gives cheapest products.

THE FUTURE OF BRITAIN.

Even with her disadvantages, Mr. Carnegie thinks that Britain's present population, wealth, and trade, are not likely to decline, and that they may even increase in the immediate future. Her wealth, climate, geographical position, and resources, are superior to those of any country in Europe, and Britain alone, among European nations, holds in reserve an important home-market capable of yielding profit equal to at least, one-third, or more, of all her present export trade. She has in her unrivaled supply of coal, as far as Europe is concerned, another mine of vast wealth.

ONE DARK CLOUD ON BRITAIN'S INDUSTRIAL HORIZON.

Mr. Carnegie says that Britain's supply of Cleveland ironstone will be practically exhausted in twenty or twenty-five years, at the present rate of production, except that two concerns will then have sufficient for some years longer; the Cumberland supply is already nearly exhausted. Without cheap iron and steel, the construction of ships and machinery of all kinds—and of the thousand-and-one articles of which steel is the base,—would tend to decrease. Britain is not alone in this danger; even the United States has a proved supply of first-class ore for only sixty or seventy years,—with inferior grades to supply her thirty years longer,—unless the rate of consumption be greatly increased; the enormous territory of the Republic, however, may give new discoveries of deposits. Germany has,

to-day, the most enduring supply of iron ore, though it is not so rich as the American.

THE UNITED STATES COMPARED WITH DISUNITED EUROPE.

Mr. Carnegie says that the recent industrial combinations of the United States are not nearly so powerful—in the effect of enabling the Republic to compete successfully,—as the fact of the political union in America. One must compare Europe and America as units, continent against continent. Mr. Carnegie finds portentous contrasts: First, Europe is an armed camp, with 9,000,000 men engaged in unproductive military duty; the American Union has an army of only 66,000 men, with no conscription. Europe has 410 fighting vessels; America, 35. Second, America has, in its political union, the peaceful security necessary for industrial development. Third, in the great continent of America an industrial captain can establish his several works at the centers of the various markets; he may proceed to ply ships, or build railroads, or construct works, anywhere on the continent, dreading neither interference with supplies, hostile legislation, or national antipathies; the result is that every process of manufacture in the Union flows, naturally, to the localities best adapted for it, there being no barriers to free selection.

In short, Mr. Carnegie pictures the American Continent as one harmonious, peaceful, coöperative whole, its power and energy directed to industrial progress; the European Continent as divided into hostile camps, the power and energy of each directed to military protection and commercial isolation.

WHAT MUST EUROPE DO?

"There is only one answer. She labors in vain until she secures some form of political and industrial union and becomes one united whole,—as the American Union is,—in these respects, for this is the only foundation upon which she can ever contend successfully against America for the trade of the world or each of her separate nations holds its own home trade in manufactures, except under a system of protection, which must handicap her in the race for the trade of the world."

MR. CARNEGIE'S PROPHECY.

"The coming century is to look back upon the present petty political divisions of Europe with the feelings we of to-day entertain for the one hundred and fourteen little states of Germany and their pigmy monarchs of the past century, with their thirty-four tariff barriers to commerce and travel on the Rhine, resembling the *Likin* of China."

A FRENCH VIEW OF CAPTAIN MAHAN'S THEORIES.

AN English critic once compared the revolution Captain Mahan has brought about in the study of naval history to that made by Copernicus in the domain of astronomy; and the eulogy does not seem extravagant, as applied by an Englishman to the historian who first pointed out the real foundation of the greatness of the British Empire.

But the influence of Captain Mahan's works may be as plainly discerned in all directions and in all countries. "It would be impossible," says M. Auguste Moireau in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for October 1, "to exaggerate the effect on the events of the last ten years, in Europe and the United States, produced by the introduction into the current of the world's thought of the idea, 'sea power,' under the vivid form given it by Captain Mahan. . . . A number of historians had employed the term before him, and had even grasped its profound meaning; but he has rendered this meaning more intense and more impressive. England has produced some good writers on naval matters, but Mahan is superior to them all; for he is at once more of a historian than those who are strategists, and more of a strategist than those who are historians, and, in a greater degree than either, does he possess philosophic insight. The *ensemble* of his works is a vast analysis—extending over all regions and all periods—of the sources whence spring the growth and might of 'sea power,' of the conditions necessary to acquire and keep it, and the results to which its possession permits a nation to aspire."

The May number of the *National Review* contains an article by Captain Mahan, entitled "Motives to Imperial Federation." "Federation is in the air," remarks M. Moireau. "The united empire is an ideal which seduces the popular imagination. Mahan advises the English to give a positive character to this conception; to incorporate it in an imperial constitution, in which the mother-country and the colonies shall each surrender a portion of their independence, principally in what concerns the control of the foreign policy." The author does not go into details; but he advocates the formation of a great federal council, whose mission it would be to direct the exterior affairs of the "new empire." Difficulties of all kinds would hinder the execution of this plan,—the enormous distance between the different parts of the empire, the jealousies of governors,—for there is no one more sensitive in all that affects his dignity than a colonial premier. It cannot be seen how a common system of military and naval forces could

be formed between so many countries, so far distant from each other. There are still other obstacles. The English colonies will never be interested in the complications of European international politics. At Washington, in official circles, men are fairly well informed on the subject of the internal affairs of the European states; but for the mass of Americans there is, on the other side of the Atlantic, one great power—which is England, and another great power—which is Europe. The names of the different parts of the Continent are well known, it is true, but well known as are the divisions of the Chinese Empire, or the territorial governments of Russia, to the masses in France. Such is exactly the attitude of the English colonies in regard to the affairs of Europe. How, under such conditions, could there possibly exist an imperial diplomacy?"

THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

In 1897, appeared Captain Mahan's "Interest of America in Sea Power, Present and Future." In this work Captain Mahan insists on the strategic importance that the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea will assume, in consequence of the opening of an interoceanic canal, and on account of the political instability of the states of tropical America. He says:

"The demand for a more regular government must arise in these states torn by internal dissensions. When this demand comes, no theory like the Monroe Doctrine will prevent the nations concerned from trying to remedy this evil by some step which—by whatever name it may be disguised,—will, inevitably, be a political intervention. This intervention will cause collisions which may, perhaps, be resolved by arbitration, but very probably will lead to war. As far as one can judge, the moment will come when the states of tropical America will be given stable governments by the powerful states actually existing in America and in Europe. The geographical position of these countries, and their climatic conditions, clearly establish that 'sea power' will determine to which foreign state will fall the ascendancy. The geographical situation of the United States, and her great resources, will give her an incontestable advantage. But this advantage will not avail her if there exists a great inferiority—from the point of view of organized material force which constitutes the last argument of republics, as well as kings."

"All this volume," says M. Moireau, "however diverse in appearance the subjects singly treated are, is a development of the idea that the United States, in order to sustain the Mon-

roe Doctrine, should become a strong naval power. The articles which compose it have a prophetic tinge; they herald a near future; and yet they begin to date from afar, for the future announced is already being realized. The tone, even, of these studies allows one to appreciate the enormous progress the United States has made in the course which Mahan wished her to pursue. The author would not have to write them to-day; for the majority of the questions which are there put are actually resolved, and have received exactly the solutions which he held desirable. Mahan will not have played the rôle of Cassandra. At the time he was adjuring his country to become a great naval power, in order that the Monroe Doctrine might not become the laughing-stock of Europe, the United States was constructing a war fleet; and a group of patriotic Senators at Washington was preparing the double blow which was to deprive Spain of her last possession in the Antilles and to render the American Government mistress of future interoceanic communication by means of the Central American isthmus."

SHALL THE FILIPINOS KEEP THEIR LAND?

PROF. J. W. JENKS, who has recently been studying conditions in the Philippines in the course of a trip around the world, discusses "Some Philippine Problems" in the November *McClure's*. One of these is the question whether the Filipinos shall keep their land.

SPECULATORS OUGHT TO BE KEPT OUT.

The Government owns millions of acres of land in the Philippines,—forest, mineral and agricultural,—and much other valuable land is owned by the natives. Professor Jenks emphasizes the point that these lands ought to be developed for the good of all. "Already, even before the Government can grant titles, Americans and foreigners are striving to put claims on valuable hotel sites, hot springs, prospective mines, fine farming lands, and profitable forests. The Government, by Act of Congress, has wisely decided to keep the forests in its own hands, and to lease simply the right of cutting timber under Government direction. The agricultural lands also need to be no less carefully protected."

THE FILIPINO MUST NOT SELL HIS BIRTHRIGHT.

Professor Jenks says that if the Filipinos, the Americans, and the Chinese are given equal chances for obtaining land in fee simple, it will not be long before the Americans and Chinese will own the land, and the Filipinos will be tenants,—not much more fortunate than serfs bound to the soil. The Filipinos, although they have

many good qualities, are still so thriftless, on the average, that they will likely sell any property which will bring them any immediate cash.

The United States should allow the Filipinos to sell their lands only with the permission of the local government, and they should be aided in making leases, and in securing terms, which will prevent their land from being cropped.

LAND-GRABBING BY LARGE CORPORATIONS.

There is danger that large corporations and wealthy individuals will get great tracts of land, ostensibly for raising sugar, tobacco, hemp, and fruit, but really to hold for speculation. Professor Jenks says we should heed the century-old lessons of India and Java, and have the state hold its lands, leasing them on liberal terms by a perpetual grant, so that the holder may keep possession as long as he pays his rent and cultivates his land, while the state will retain the right to revise rentals, at regular intervals, and insist that those who fail to cultivate their lands shall forfeit their claims. This will cause an outcry from many "patriots" who will claim to have sacrificed much by going to the Philippines, but who are anxious to get rich soon. "It is probably true that there will be less platting of town sites, less granting of franchises, and less advertising of somewhat doubtful resources; but there will be more real prosperity and fewer corrupt dealings, while our country will fulfil much better its obligations to the Filipinos."

THE DEARTH OF LABOR.

The native Filipinos, though quick and good-natured, are not strong or well suited for heavy manual labor, nor are they thrifty, and there is a real dearth of labor now in the Philippines. The Chinese now in the islands are not laborers, but shrewd traders who live largely on the thriftlessness of the natives. To do the great work of industrial regeneration that the country needs,—to build the roads, railroads, harbors,—many strong manual laborers are necessary, and there is a growing disposition to bring in the Chinese for this purpose. Professor Jenks, from the experience of other Oriental countries as well as of the United States, argues against opening the Philippines freely to the Chinese. He thinks there will be practically no danger, however, in admitting them in groups under contract, with their employers under bonds to keep them employed in the way specified in the contract: to feed, house, and care for them properly; to see that they do not desert and enter other lines of trade; and to return them to their own country when their task is done.

MOROCCO AND ITS SULTAN.

IT is easy to believe that Morocco possesses great interest and fascination, and still easier after reading Captain Fawcett's entertaining pages in the *Pall Mall Magazine* for October. But for the present, at least, it would be difficult for any but men to go there, and in some parts impossible. In Marrakush the half-dozen resident English ladies must wear a *sulham* and *yasmak* in public to avoid insult. The sultan "is a most progressive monarch. He is a good billiard player and photographer, and is a perfect genius on a bicycle. Polo or pig-sticking on a bicycle are favorite amusements. He also has several motor-cars and a cinematograph.

"So far as the tourist is allowed to penetrate," Morocco is quite safe. Beyond the limits of safety a traveler must wear a disguise and court discomfort. Even the Sultan himself requires in much of his dominion a large army.

Why Morocco is now specially interesting is because at least five nations covet its grain-producing lands and their mineral wealth, and the day is nearing fast when its independence and semi-barbarous state must cease. England has at present two-thirds of its trade; Germany most of the other third. English influence at court is paramount, but France has taken most active steps to acquire the country. At present intrigues at court paralyze the much-needed reforms, and there is no permanence for anything.

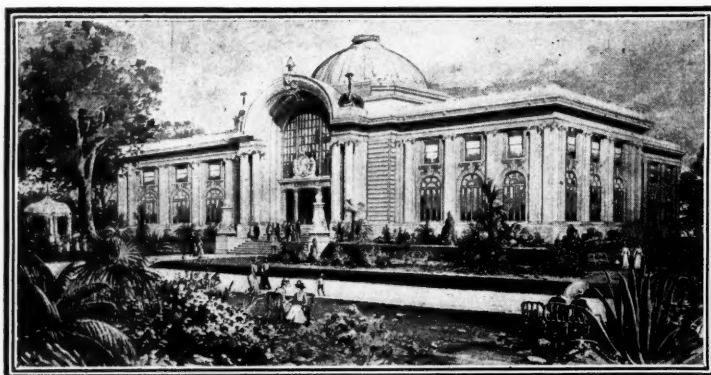
THE ST. LOUIS EXPOSITION IN 1904.

EX-SENATOR JOHN M. THURSTON says in the November *Cosmopolitan*, that the world's fair, to be held in St. Louis in 1904, promises to eclipse in magnificence and grandeur all expositions heretofore held. Its official title is to be The Louisiana Purchase Exposition, and it will commemorate the purchase of the Territory of Louisiana from France, consummated on April 30, 1803.

The company, under the presidency of ex-Gov. David R. Francis, has already several millions of dollars more than was ever appropriated in advance on any similar occasion. It has a stock subscription of about \$5,000,000; \$5,000,000 of bonds voted by the city of St. Louis; and a government appropriation of \$5,000,000. This is over and above the appropriations by the several States to be expended to exhibit their resources. Missouri has appropriated for this purpose \$1,000,000, and Illinois \$250,000.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ANNIVERSARY.

Senator Thurston thinks that in many respects the addition of the vast territory obtained by



THE MISSOURI STATE BUILDING.

the Louisiana Purchase was the most important event in our whole history. It has a region greater by 3,000 square miles than the entire area of the Federal Union in 1803. The thirteen States and two Territories since carved out of the purchase contain the homes of over 17,000,000 prosperous people,—nearly one-fourth the population of the United States. This territory extended the boundaries of the United States to the Pacific Coast, thereby giving to the new Republic a continental domain from ocean to ocean, and making it impossible for any other nation to obtain a dangerous foothold upon the continent. It also secured for us the great Mississippi River and its tributaries.

THE THIRD GREAT AMERICAN EXPOSITION.

It will be the third great American exposition, for, up to the present time, we have had no truly American exhibitions except the Philadelphia Centennial, held in 1876, and the

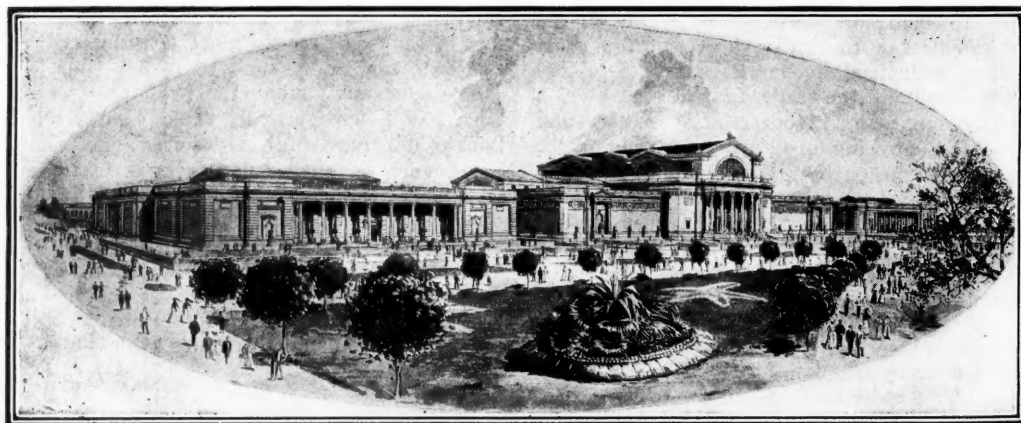
world than has ever heretofore been brought together.

THE SITE OF THE EXPOSITION.

The site of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition will make possible a grander spectacle in architectural and scenic effects than even the Chicago Exposition of 1903. The grounds will embrace about 1,200 acres. The principal buildings, including the Government building and the foreign buildings, are located on the west half of Forest Reserve Park, a beautifully diversified piece of woodland. Ten of the most distinguished architects in the country have been working on the general design. The large architectural plan is severely classic, with modern adaptation.

DISTINCTIVE FEATURES OF THE EXPOSITION.

The St. Louis Exposition is going to pay special attention to aerial navigation. "Every fair has had its captive balloon tethered by a long



THE ART PALACE AT THE ST. LOUIS EXPOSITION.

Chicago World's Fair, held in 1893. There have been so many local exhibitions held in the last few years that many people are coming to look with disfavor upon enterprises of this kind. But the exhibition at St. Louis will rise above all local features, and will assume a dignity and character that must commend itself to the people of this country and of the whole world. It is certain that there will be assembled at St. Louis a greater and more varied exhibit from all parts of the

rope, and hauled down ingloriously by a windlass; but here, for the first time, fleets of soaring yachts will beat the air with untrammelled wings. There will be an airship tournament, with a prize of \$100,000 for the winner, and other prizes, aggregating \$100,000 more, for less successful competitors. An enormous number of candidates and varieties of flying machines have responded to the invitation. The two great schools of aeronauts,—the advocates of the aeroplane, and of the dirigible balloon,—will be represented by their most distinguished leaders, Sir Hiram Maxim and M. Santos-Dumont."

Another feature of the St. Louis fair will be the emphasis placed on processes of manufacture, rather than finished products. "In other words, instead of being a collection of showcases, it will be an industrial city in actual operation."

ROBERT HOE, CAPTAIN OF PRINTING PRESS MAKERS.

THE most interesting sketch in the "Captains of Industry" series in the November *Cosmopolitan* is the article, by James H. Bridge, on Robert Hoe, the great manufacturer of printing presses. The present Robert Hoe is the third of his name. He, his father, and grandfather, have devoted themselves to making printing presses which would keep abreast of the enormously increasing demands of modern journalism and bookmaking. The last marvelous machine under construction in Mr. Hoe's manufactory contains 50,000 pieces of metal, which

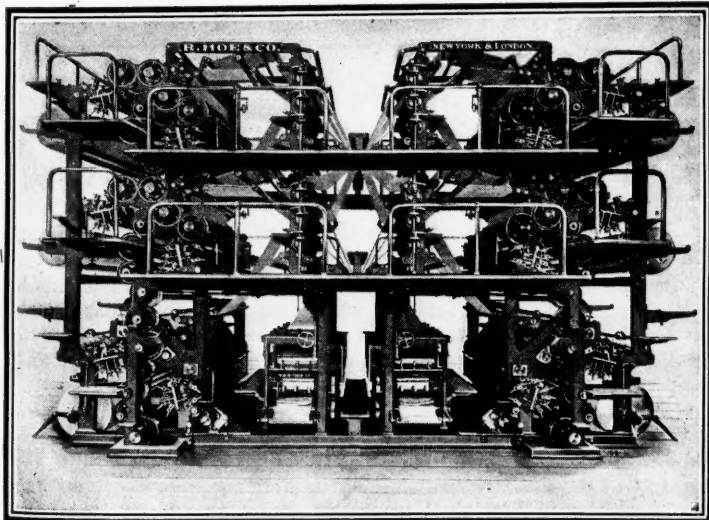
are the perfected conceptions of the three Robert Hoes.

This marvelous piece of mechanism uses up 120 miles of white paper every hour it runs. It prints, cuts, pastes, folds, counts, and delivers 180,000 eight-page newspapers an hour—3,000 a minute, 50 a second. Even this machine, baffling to the imagination, does not, in Mr. Hoe's belief, reach the limit of progress in this mechanical field. He thinks a new chapter in the history of printing is beginning, in the application of the rapid rotary system to bookwork and other fine printing. There will be rapid progress, too, in color printing; although his presses already give as many as eleven separate impressions or colors on a single copy of a paper, and can be made to produce magazine forms,—delivered, folded, cut, and automatically wire-stitched,—with all the pages printed in color or half-tones.

The first Robert Hoe came to New York from England in 1803, when he was eighteen years old. In a little shop in Maiden Lane he began building hand presses, and, in the course of a score of years, became an important press builder. Then the iron age reached the printing press, and, from that time on, its evolution was rapid. The first Robert Hoe, and his two sons, made one invention after the other in improving their presses, and some of their machines made in the first half of the last century are actually in use in small job offices to-day.

The present Robert Hoe was born in 1839, and identified himself, as soon as he was old enough to work, with the great industry of his family. For forty years he has devoted himself to the improvement of printing presses, and his name is as familiar in every town where English is spoken as in New York City.

When Mr. Hoe gets an idea that something should be done by machinery which has hitherto been done by hand, he has one of his sixty draughtsmen outline on paper the first part of his conception, and this is turned over to a specialist in the factory to develop. The next part is then taken up in the same way, and so on. If any difficulties arise, a general conclave of experts is held until the problem is solved. Then the idea is patented, and becomes a part



THE LATEST TYPE OF HOE PRESS.

of the Hoe printing press. The Hoe printing press works in New York cover some fifteen acres of floor space, and there is another establishment in London of nearly half this size.

ENGLAND'S GREATEST SURGEON.

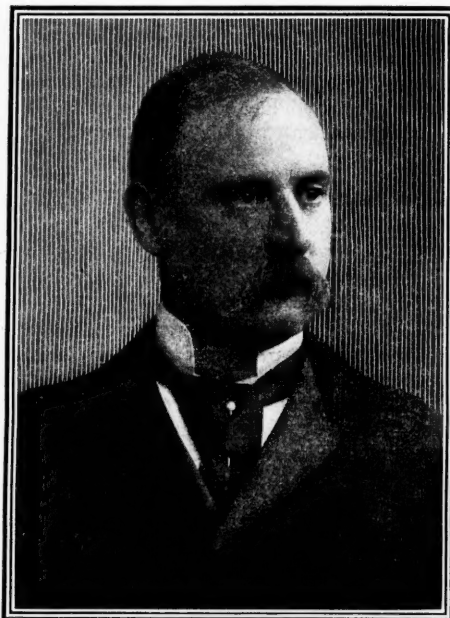
EVERY one is interested in the career and life of the man who saved King Edward's life so recently. In the *Woman at Home* for October, Sarah A. Tooley praises the great surgeon, and indeed it would be hard to write of him without launching into praise. Sir Frederick Treves is one of the youngest great surgeons, and he is one of the best beloved by his colleagues, his students, and his patients. All who have been under the care of Sir Frederick, or who have met him in every-day life, will endorse all the writer has said in her article.

"He lives a simple life of hard work, rising at 5 o'clock in the morning and usually retiring about 10. His recreations are principally of the aquatic kind. He is an expert swimmer, can manage almost any kind of water craft, and holds a pilot's certificate. He is an enthusiast for boat sailing and sea-fishing, and is never happier and more at home than on a yacht. The King had in him an ideal medical attendant, who could enter fully into his Majesty's anxiety to escape from Buckingham Palace to the sea breezes of the Solent. Yachting is Sir Frederick's own remedy for jaded nerves. Philanthropics connected with the deep-sea fishermen find a very warm advocate in Sir Frederick, as also the children's country-holiday scheme, and he has advanced both causes by public speeches on various occasions. For close upon thirty years has Sir Frederick been familiar with the life of East London, and few know better than he the somber shadows of pain and distress which darken its people. Hospital wards are full of the tragedies of human life, and no one has a more compassionate heart for the suffering poor than the great surgeon who has ministered to them.

"He was born at Dorchester, in 1853, and is consequently in the very prime of his manhood. He received his education at the Merchant Tailors' School, and having decided to become a doctor, pursued his studies at the London Hospital. He was a young man of life and energy, fond of sports of all kinds, and particularly of boating and sailing. Although brilliantly clever, there is a rumor that young Treves was fonder of pleasure than work in his early student days. Suddenly, however, he began to take things more seriously, and gave undoubted evidence of future greatness. At twenty-eight he was ap-

pointed professor of anatomy and professor of pathology at the Royal College of Surgeons, posts which he held for six years with marked success. In 1891-96 he was examiner in surgery to the University of Cambridge."

Sir Frederick Treves specialized to a great extent upon operations affecting the intestines. In England, at least, he was the first to introduce the removal of the appendicitis. That was fourteen years ago, and since then he has operated on over one thousand cases with the most



SIR FREDERICK TREVES.

wonderful success, there having been only two deaths among his patients.

"At the outbreak of the South African War Sir Frederick volunteered for service, and was appointed consulting surgeon to the field forces in Natal, leaving his beloved work at the London Hospital and his consulting practice in Wimpole Street to administer to Tommy on the battlefield. He was with the main column from Colenso to Ladysmith, and did a great amount of splendid surgery, and also found time to set down some observations of the scenes around him in his 'Tale of a Field Hospital,' which, for delicate humor and pathos, descriptive power, and for tender sympathy with the wounded soldier, has no equal in the literature which the war called forth.

"Sir Frederick Treves is probably the most

popular surgeon of the day, and belongs to the generation of practitioners who are carrying to such wonderful perfection the advanced surgery of the internal abdominal organs which has been rendered possible by Lord Lister's antiseptic treatment. He, like the veteran surgeon, has worked with persistent enthusiasm to gain extended knowledge in his art, and stands unrivalled in the class of surgery which the King's case required. The one ambition of every budding young surgeon is to see Treves operate, and the corridors of the London Hospital are thronged with eager faces at every such opportunity. . . . He has had enough hero-worship and success to spoil him, but knows too much of the possibilities of increased knowledge to be unduly affected by adulation on account of present achievements."

LIEUTENANT PEARY'S ARCTIC WORK.

LIEUTENANT PEARY'S recent return from his last Arctic campaign has occasioned a renewal of interest in his achievements in the far North. His official report—dated Sydney, September 7,—is an exceedingly modest statement, covering his work during the past year. It appears in the *National Geographic Magazine* for October, followed by a brief summary of Lieutenant Peary's explorations during the past twelve years, which runs as follows:

"The results of his long labors in the far North are most important. He has proved Greenland an island, and mapped its northern coast line; he has defined and mapped the islands to the north of Greenland, known as the Greenland Archipelago; he has shown that an ice-covered Arctic ocean probably extends from the Greenland Archipelago to the North Pole; he has accurately defined the lands opposite the northwestern coast of Greenland—Grant Land, Grinnell Land, and Ellesmereland; he has reached the most northerly known-land in the world; he has gained the most northerly point yet reached on the Western Hemisphere, 85° 17'; he has studied the Eskimo as only one can who has lived with them for years; he has added much to our knowledge of Arctic fauna and flora, of the musk ox, the Arctic hare, and the deer; the notes he has made during the past years will benefit meteorology and geology—all these are some of Lieutenant Peary's achievements during the twelve years he has so valiantly battled in the far North. But, above all, Mr. Peary has given the world a notable example of a brave and modest man who, in spite of broken limbs and most terrible physical suffering and financial discouragements, has unflinchingly

forced to a successful end that which he had decided to accomplish.

"To Mrs. Peary, the able second of her husband's plans, and to Mr. H. L. Bridgman, the efficient secretary of the Peary Arctic Club, and the loyal members of that club, much credit is due."

THE DANGERS OF THE ALPS.

IT is stated on good authority that the Alpine death-roll is not so serious as is commonly imagined. Mr. Harold Spender, writing on this subject in the *Pull Mall Magazine*, says that the causes of accident are far more often rashness, such as trusting to luck that a possible avalanche will not overwhelm you, snowstorms, and even lightning.

"The stock generalizations about guideless climbing are quite beside the mark, and this practice is now confined, in Switzerland, to a small number of men who are for the most part better than any guides. The best guides themselves are no more infallible than any other skilled mountaineer, while the worst are very much more dangerous than none at all."

The three most serious catastrophes this year were all due to the weather,—a snowstorm, an avalanche, and lightning. The parties had plenty of guides. Mr. Spender gives a number of very interesting detailed accounts of Alpine accidents, from which the only conclusion is that a little more care, a little more prudence, would have avoided all, or nearly all. A Swiss doctor at Berne has made a full list of all Alpine accidents, from 1890–1901:

In all, the deaths numbered 305, of whom 218 were tourists, 73 guides, and 14 porters. Taking these figures of nationalities, we get the following result:

German and Austrian.....	190
Swiss	48
Italian.....	23
English and American	18
French.....	15
Other nationalities.....	11
	305

Considering that about 100,000 people go to the Alps every year, and that some 10,000 of these either climb mountains or cross passes, the number of killed is very small. The Austrian Alps have about half the accidents, they being the most crowded, and with the poorest class of tourists.

The intrepidity of the young Austrian climbers places the performances of cautious Englishmen in the shade. A Tyrolese guide told Mr. Spender once that they had only one fault,—they thought they had two necks, "But they fall like ripe apples."

THE FRENCH COAL MINES.

FRENCH workmen have been quite as active, if not as persistent, of late, in their efforts for progress as their American brethren. The coal miners, in particular, are now engrossing a large share of the public attention on account of the trouble in the Loire mining region. The dominant idea gleaned from M. Benoit's "Coal Mines" in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* is the great dissimilarity existing between French and American mining methods and conditions, and the difficulty of making a serious comparison between them.

The rule in regard to wages is that men actually engaged in the tunneling of passages and the coal digging are paid by the piece (the piece being either the quantity of coal extracted, or the meter of advancement made in the tunneled gallery), and that those employed for the repairing are paid by the day, as a general thing, though they are paid by the piece if the work is regular and of considerable duration. On the whole, in the determination of the wages, a wide margin is left for the will, intelligence, and industry of the individual miner; no uniform price being given indifferently to all as purchase-price of a certain amount of brute force. The fines imposed are rather heavy in proportion to the wages; but the heaviest ones only apply to cases where the common safety of the underground workmen is concerned; and the profit of all fines invariably goes to the aid-fund for the disabled and superannuated.

No miner can be discharged without a fifteen days' notice unless he insult his superiors, or forcibly interfere with his comrades. The first exception may seem much too vague and allow too much scope for arbitrary dealings; but, as the engineer only has power to discharge, the miner is safeguarded against the anger or hastiness of subordinate officials.

M. Benoit's investigations have led him to a favorable conclusion as to the way in which the fines and severer penalties are administered. He tells an anecdote about a miner who had been transferred as a punishment to a less productive and more arduous vein: "I happened to meet him after his return, and he spoke of his exile as of Siberia; but, with the confiding candor which is one of the characteristics of his class when not influenced by the politician, he gaily told us he had been convicted for theft. 'You didn't steal, did you?' asked the engineer who accompanied me. His whole face twinkling with mirth, the man slyly replied, 'Oh, certainly I didn't!' Such perfect resignation is surely a sign that the justice is without injustice, and even the severity not excessive."

"Comparing past wages with present,—though statistical comparisons are as misleading historically as geographically, in time as in space,—the increase is certain; and in this, as in the reduction of the working hours, and in the mitigation of hardships, there is a material betterment of the miner's condition. . . . It must be conceded, however, that (although the average wages in the coal mines are not bad, as compared with other industries), from diverse causes—some exterior and beyond his control, others intimate and personal—the average miner is generally on the debit rather than the credit side. And this is true, notwithstanding the gratuitous allowance of coal; the possibilities of additional revenue from small accessory occupations; and the opportunities for economy afforded in many districts for those who wish to profit by them. Yet the very great majority, if not all of the miners, have debts, or, at most, have saved nothing."

This dismal outlook is perceptibly brightened by the citing of incidents like the following. When questioned as to his daily earnings, a miner answered, "About seven francs." And, while complaining that because of his large family he could not take a holiday, he did not seem discontented with the pay in itself; his good-natured grumblings were directed against life rather than against his trade.

"Why the miner generally saves nothing, on the contrary getting into debt, whether it is the pay which is too small for the living which is too dear, or whether it is he who is incapable of adjusting his living to his pay,—is the social and moral question combined for the miner. But social facts, even when one is prudent or presumptuous enough to limit their application to a single domain, are of such great abundance, richness, and complicity, that it is beyond our power to embrace them as a whole—to grasp and to present the *ensemble*. Let us be contented with this makeshift. As regards labor in the coal mines, we can conclude that the work is divided there into a quantity of professional categories, or specialties, entailing as many different treatments and conditions; that miners above fifty-five years of age are rare, and that the working population is migratory; the working hours are shorter than in other similar industries, and the hardships less than in the mines of former times; and moreover, that these working hours are shorter and the pay better in the great mines than in the medium or small ones; and that the scale of wages cannot be considered as low, in any event, having doubled, and more than tripled, since the end of the eighteenth century."

THE PERIODICALS REVIEWED.

THE CENTURY MAGAZINE.

THERE is a thorough article on "The So-Called Beef Trust" in the November *Century*, the first of a series on "The Great Business Combinations of To-Day." For many years the beef industry of this country has been controlled by a half-dozen powerful corporations. They have made enormous profits, and have unquestionably furnished the consumer with better and cheaper meat than the small operator could produce. Mr. George B. Fife, the writer, describes the processes of the slaughtering and packing of beef, and the determined effort of the packer to centralize his business. As to the attacks on the alleged Beef Trust, Mr. Fife says that, whatever the Government may succeed in proving, there is no doubt that a working "agreement" has long existed among the large packing corporations. He believes that this agreement is, in effect, that they are not—to their own loss and the destruction of their good will,—to send more beef to a market than it reasonably requires. Another allegation against the so-called Beef Trust is that it has attempted to maintain the price of beef under appearance of establishing a uniform rule for the giving of credit to dealers. These two understandings certainly exist among the packers; but they call them protective, and not oppressive, measures.

IN A NEW YORK POLICE COURT.

The *Century* opens with a readable descriptive article on "The New York Police Court," by Edwin Biorkman. He describes some of the pathetic and humorous scenes in the court of a police justice, and explains the procedure by which magistrates are persuaded to issue warrants. The principal advantage of the summons is that it gives the magistrate a chance to act as peacemaker, rather than as judge, in a number of instances, when, if settlement were not reached through his mediation, a criminal process would be the final outcome. Two-thirds of the applicants for summonses are women, a majority of whom hail from the big tenements, where all sorts of discordant elements are crowded together without elbow-room. The magistrates often dispose of such squabbles—with a group of women on each side hurling charges and countercharges against each other,—by threatening to arrest every one of them, on the spot, unless they go home and live in peace. It is significant that less than one-half of the summonses granted are returned in court.

This number of the *Century* has refrained from the usual features of colored illustration; there is a delightful description of "The Grand Cañon of the Colorado," by John Muir, and a considerable first chapter of an historical series, "The Prologue of the American Revolution," by Prof. Justin H. Smith, which will give the most complete account yet published of the invasion of Canada in 1775.

HARPER'S MAGAZINE.

MR. HARRY DE WINDT, the explorer, describes in the November *Harper's* his journey "Through Siberia to Bering Strait," in the effort to go from Paris to New York overland. The explorer left the Trans-Siberian Railway and civilization at Irkutsk, and ac-

complished the 2,000 miles to Yakutsk in a sleigh drawn by horses. From Yakutsk on, northeast, the next lap of 1,500 miles was accomplished behind reindeer to the last Russian outpost on the Kolyma River. From this point on to the Bering Sea dog-sleds were the programme. With five sleds, drawn by sixty-three dogs, the party set out for Bering Sea, with a very scant three weeks' provision, and arrived on May 20, 1902, at East Cape, on the Strait. The expedition had traveled about 11,263 English miles. Mr. De Windt's original idea was to cross over the frozen Strait at Cape Prince of Wales, where the distance from shore to shore is about forty-five miles; but he found that the strait is never completely closed, and that even the Eskimos rarely succeed in getting across.

WHAT IS LIFE.

In "The Newest Conceptions of Life," Mr. Carl Snyder gives an interesting account of the various stages of the physiologists' work to solve the riddle of what life is. He tells us that they have decided that life is a series of fermentations. Biological chemistry has demonstrated that there is for every vital function—even the brain and the nervous system,—a specific ferment. Now, the further question is, What are these ferments? This has, so far, baffled inquiry. "Their activity seems bound up rather with the peculiarity of their atomic structure and their chemical architecture, so to speak, than with any mystery of ingredients. They are compounded of the simple elements of water, air, and carbon. It is how these are put together that is so puzzling." The puzzle, however, Mr. Snyder tells us, is near solution, and we may be on the verge of manufacturing life in the laboratory.

THE ASTONISHING INFLUENCE OF RAINFALL.

A brief article on "The Distribution of Rainfall," by Dr. A. J. Herbertson, tells us that the deductions made by meteorologists in the matter of rainfall are drawn from about 50,000,000 observations taken at nearly 9,000 stations. The influence that the question of rainfall has on animal and vegetable life is extraordinary to the layman. Expressed in the terms of sheep, it is shown that in Australia,—land receiving less than ten inches of rain per annum is worth next to nothing unless it can be irrigated,—with ten inches of rain, eight or nine sheep can be kept per square mile; with about twenty inches of rain, 640 sheep per square mile (eighty times as many); and with thirty-four inches of rain,—in Buenos Ayres,—a square mile will support the enormous number of 2,560.

McCLURE'S MAGAZINE.

PROF. J. W. JENKS, who has recently returned from the Philippine Islands, discusses in the November *McClure's* "Some Philippine Problems," to which we have given attention in another department. The feature of this number is the first installment of Miss Ida M. Tarbell's "History of the Standard Oil Company," which has been compiled with the enterprise and conscientiousness that writer puts into all of her work. The series will be quoted from in a later number of THE REVIEW OF REVIEWS.

Mr. George W. Smalley, in "Personal Recollections and Appreciations of Men of Letters," deals with Robert Browning, John Morley, William Dean Howells, Anthony Hope, Henry James, Matthew Arnold, Swinburne, Lowell, and Alfred Austin. Mr. Smalley says of John Morley: "He looks like a Puritan, and talks like a philosopher." While, as a historian, he finds John Morley austere, unbending, uncompromising, at times narrow, and at all times a fanatic, "on the personal side he has a sweetness of nature and a sweet reasonableness in talk which I can only call loveable." Mr. Morley's "Life of Gladstone" is about to appear. "It will be a unique piece of biography,—the biography of a believer by an unbeliever; of the real, adroit, professional politician of his times by a political amateur; of an Imperialist by a Little Englander; of a *bon-vivant* by an ascetic." Mr. Morley is to receive no less than \$50,000 for this piece of work. He was for many years the reader to the Messrs. Macmillan, and is still their literary adviser.

There is a brief sketch by C. Whibley of the late George Douglas, author of "The House With the Green Shutters," and a further note on the same subject by Robert Barr.

SCRIBNER'S MAGAZINE.

THE November *Scribner's* contains the most delicate and beautiful examples of color printing,—the pictures drawn by Sarah S. Stillwell for the pretty little fairy story, "Princess Pourquoi," by Margaret Sherwood.

THE OUTLOOK FOR OUR MERCHANT MARINE.

Mr. Winthrop L. Marvin contributes an article on our merchant marine, "The American Ship in 1902." He divides our merchant marine into two classes: First is the immense fleet, of over four and a half million tons, engaged in the coasting trade of our Atlantic and Pacific seaboard, including now Porto Rico, Hawaii, the Great Lakes, and the rivers. For more than a century this magnificent traffic has been reserved to American ships and American seamen; and it now employs the largest, most efficient, and most prosperous coastwise tonnage in existence. The other half,—the part engaged in over-seas trade,—now stands at only 879,595 tons, only one-third the tonnage of thirty-one years ago. Mr. Marvin says American shipbuilding is not increasing, but is rather falling off. Mr. Marvin argues that this over-seas shipping-trade is the proper object of national solicitude; he says there is nobody whom the Government has so systematically forgotten in the past fifty years as the owner of the American steamer, or sailing vessel, on the high seas; and, that conditions are now such that a great merchant tonnage can spring into existence as soon as the American people give the word.

OUR IMMIGRANTS,—COMING AND GOING.

The magazine opens with Mr. James B. Connolly's article "In the Paths of Immigration," in which he pictures the journey of Russian immigrants from their homes to New York. Mr. Connolly complains that the steamship people are very rough on the ignorant immigrants, assuming them to be an inferior kind of creature,—dull brutes,—on whom consideration would be thrown away. When these same immigrants make the trip back, after living in the United States a few years, there is a difference. It is common talk "below decks"

on ocean-liners that steerage going west and steerage going east are not to be handled in quite the same way.

THE ARTS OF THE SPELLBINDER.

There is a highly amusing and interesting article on "The Spellbinder," by Mr. Curtis Guild, Jr., who speaks from experience in the art, and places much emphasis on the necessity of clear and distinct enunciation, which is more valuable than a merely powerful bellow. This has been the secret of the success, as an orator, of the Hon. Thomas B. Reed. Nowadays, mere rhetoric no longer convinces; sarcasm is a bad weapon; the professional vendor of comic stories does not accomplish much; and the savage partisan, "who preaches on the text attributed to Horace Greeley, 'that every horsethief is a member of the opposite party,'" only hurts his own cause.

THE COSMOPOLITAN.

THE articles on the St. Louis world's fair, on Robert Hoe, of printing press fame, and "Mankind in the Making," that appear in the November *Cosmopolitan*, are quoted from, among the "Leading Articles of the Month."

Other "Captains of Industry" dealt with in this number are the late Winfield Scott Stratton, on whom Mr. Samuel E. Moffett writes; Mr. James R. Keene, whom Mr. Edwin Lefèvre describes as "the greatest stock gambler that ever lived;" Mayor Tom L. Johnson, called by Henry George, Jr., "a monopolist who is spending his wealth to destroy the sources of monopoly;" and F. W. Roebing, the head of the great wire-making industry in Trenton, N. J., which puts out \$15,000,000 worth of wire a year.

PERILS OF MODERN BALLOONING.

Mr. Samuel E. Moffett, writing on "Dangerous Occupations," puts first the profession of ballooning, lately come into vogue. The plain balloonist has dangers enough, but Mr. Moffett explains that the man who runs an airship by a machine has infinitely more perils. There is always more or less gas escaping from a balloon, and it seems inevitable that some should find its way to the motor and end the career of the aeronaut. However, this particular kind of catastrophe has not yet come, although Santos-Dumont has experienced almost every other. A dirigible balloon is peculiarly liable to wreck from the fact that its fragile structure is forced against the wind instead of being carried along with it. There is also the danger of explosions from expansion of the gas. It was this that wrecked Severo's *Pax* on May 12, and dashed its rash designer to the ground from a height of nearly 2,000 feet at three times the velocity of the Empire State Express.

MILTON'S PLACE AMONG THE POETS.

There is a posthumous essay by John Fiske on John Milton, which ends with a clean-cut classification of the blind poet. "By common consent of educated mankind, three poets—Homer, Dante, and Shakespeare—stand above all others. For the fourth place there are competitors: two Greeks, Æschylus and Sophocles; two Romans, Lucretius and Virgil; one German, Goethe. In this high company belongs John Milton; and there are men who would rank him first, after the unequalled three." Other articles in this number deal with the recent United States naval manoeuvres, "German Court Beauties," "What Women Like in Women," and other lighter subjects.

THE WORLD'S WORK.

THE November number of the *World's Work* contains the address delivered by Mr. Andrew Carnegie at the University of St. Andrew, Edinburgh, which we have quoted from among the "Leading Articles of the Month."

THE REAL RULER OF RUSSIA.

The "Real Rulers of Russia," by Wolf von Schierbrand, attempts to explain the limitations of the Czar's power, and to analyze Russian character. This writer says the Czar is not the sole ruler of his people; that three other autocrats divide the power, and that these are three words in the Russian language: *Nitshewo*, *Winowat*, and *Natshai*. The first of these words means "nothing," "never mind." Every disquieting thought is dismissed with a "*nitshewo*," which perhaps means more nearly "What are you going to do about it?" The second word, *winowat*, means literally "I am guilty," "I own up to it," but also implies "What is the use of my denying it?" The third fatal word originally stood "for tea,"—like the French *pourboire*,—then came to be used to mean "for vodka" (corn-brandy); and, finally, it rose to imply the very essence of corruption, probably akin to our "graft." This last autocrat Herr von Schierbrand thinks the mightiest of them all. "Without *natshai* you would be unable to accomplish anything in Russia, all the orders and the decrees of the nominal Czar at St. Petersburg to the contrary notwithstanding."

THE FISHERIES OF THE GREAT LAKES.

W. S. Harwood has a well-illustrated article, "Saving the Fisheries of Our Inland Seas." He tells how more than 100,000,000 pounds of trout and whitefish are taken from the Great Lakes in a year, and of the Government restocking to repair the ravages of wasteful fishermen. It is a pretty big task to restock Lake Superior, an inland sea 400 miles long, 1,500 miles in circumference, and averaging 1,000 feet deep; but the Government seems to be accomplishing it. The fish are caught in huge nets and chiefly by Americans. They were pursued so constantly that they would soon become extinct but for the governmental aid in stocking. Thus, in Lake Ontario, the catch of whitefish—the most delicious of the lake fish,—fell from 1,156,200 pounds in 1868 to 126,650 pounds in 1895; and the catch of trout, for the same period, from 612,000 pounds to 109,300 pounds. The basis of the governmental work is collecting the eggs and hatching them artificially. The artificial hatch is very much more prolific than the natural hatch.

THE COMING DELUGE OF GOLD.

Charles M. Harvey calls attention to "Another Revolutionary Increase of Gold," from the mines of South Africa. He says that, by 1904, a complete resumption of mining in the Transvaal—together with a like increase in the rest of the productive countries,—will send the world's output up to \$400,000,000 a year, as compared with a little over a quarter of that amount in 1890. Mr. Harvey says America will be the largest gainer by the gold deluge, as America is the best field for the investment of money that the world affords, having the most varied, extensive, and profitable of the world's industrial activities.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Mr. M. G. Cuniff, in a series of first-hand studies of labor problems, writes on "The Human Side of the

Labor Unions," and finds suspicion the prevailing mood of employer and union. He quotes labor leaders to the effect that misunderstandings cause half the labor troubles: "A union hates a typewritten letter, but it likes a man." Julian Ralph writes on "The Moral Soundness of American Life;" Henry Harrison Lewis gives a glimpse of the personality, and of the working habits, of Col. John Jacob Astor, under the title "The Quiet Control of a Vast Estate;" Frank M. Chapman describes the work of the American Museum of Natural History, and how it acts both as an investigator and teacher of natural science; Ivy Lee describes the New Stock Exchange Building in New York, and some remarkable features of its construction, and Mr. James H. Bridge gives the views of important leaders of industrial combinations, under the title "Trusts as Their Makers View them."

COUNTRY LIFE.

THE November *Country Life* has an eminently timely article on "Turkeys and Cranberries," describing the growing of the turkeys in the State of Rhode Island, and the cranberry at home in the marshes of Cape Cod and New Jersey.

Answering the question, "Does Farm Forestry Pay?" Mr. Allen Chamberlain has a very interesting account of some actual successes of New England farmers, where the father sowed and the son reaped. In one case a Mr. Cutter, of Pelham, N. H., began caring for a forty-acre tract of self-seeded pine timber, thinning out the trees and, furthermore, pruning about an acre each year after the growth was ten years old. This furnished much amusement for the neighbors; but Mr. Cutter's son has recently logged 700,000 feet of lumber from this tract, leaving no less than 300,000 feet standing; this gives an average of 25,000 feet to the acre, and much of the Michigan old pine lands only cut about 5,000 feet to the acre. Another New Hampshire man, the Hon. John D. Lyman, of Exeter, has a hobby of white-pine culture cultivated most successfully. He plants 30,000 white pine trees to the acre,—thick enough to give the young trees long, straight bodies, free from limbs for quite a distance from the ground; these are thinned out until the final stand will have from 50 to 160 trees to the acre. Mr. Lyman reckons the land, before planting, at \$10 an acre; and the interest at 4 per cent., compound, shows that a lot will stand its owner in 54 years about \$80 per acre. On this basis he makes a good profit from his white-pine planting.

Bryant Fleming describes the famous Hunnewell Estate at Wellesley, founded by the late H. H. Hunnewell, with its Italian gardens and magnificent plantations of conifers, on the shore of Lake Waban, opposite Wellesley College. There is a very pleasant account of an old-time-home garden at Cazenovia Lake; an article on quail and quail shooting, and a chapter on staircases, in the series on "The Making of a Country Home."

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY.

WE have quoted in another department from Mr. Henry D. Lloyd's article in the November *Atlantic* on "Australasian Cures for Coal Wars," and from the article by Ambrose P. Winston in the series entitled "A Quarter-Century of Strikes."

THE ARTISTIC HANDICRAFT OF TO-DAY.

Mr. Charles H. Moore writes on "Modern Artistic

Handicraft," and takes the ground that the handicrafts of the Renaissance embody vices of design which unfit them to be taken by the modern artisan as exemplary models for imitation. He complains, too, that the commercial spirit has too much of a place as a motive for artistic production. This commercial spirit, however, does not wholly explain why the better things which a few exceptionally able craftsmen produce do not readily find a market. The most important reason is that people do not care enough for the fine arts. "Our absorbing interests and successful achievements are in other directions. Men always do best what the largest number of the most intelligent among them care most for. Our predominant interests are plainly not at present in the direction of the fine arts."

LITERARY TASTE IN THE TENEMENT.

Elizabeth McCracken, in "The Book in the Tenement," shows some interesting experiences she has had in finding out the reading tastes and capacities of tenement dwellers. The native instinct and taste for real literature as shown by this inquirer's explorations is remarkably true in the entity. "Grimm's Fairy Tales" delighted a tenement girl who thought Mr. Herford's "Primer of Natural History" silly. The climax of the tenement criticism of Henrik Ibsen's dramas was "They don't help you, and you can't enjoy 'em." Kipling was a prime favorite. "The Christian" failed to satisfy, and "The Tragic Muse" was unappreciated.

IS HUMAN EYESIGHT DETERIORATING?

Mr. A. B. Norton, discussing "The Care of the Eyes," expresses the belief that our collective eyesight is deteriorating, and that this fact is due to neglect of the eyes and the injudicious use of glasses. There were, in 1890, over 50,000 totally blind people in the United States, which gives a proportion slightly less than the world's average. Mr. Norton says no one but the oculist appreciates the amount of suffering and ill health caused by defective eyes. The public is gradually becoming educated on this subject, however; and, nowadays, it is not unusual for a family to consult an oculist first when a daughter is troubled with headaches. Many nervous and mental troubles result from eye-strain, and can be cured by correcting the trouble in the sight. This writer says that every school should possess a series of test letters, and that each scholar at the commencement of each term should have the eyes examined by the teacher. Mr. Norton gives some valuable information as to the supplying of light in the schoolroom, and as to the reform of school studies with a view to their effect on the eyes of the pupils. He warns us that the prevalent habit of going without glasses for reading, as long as possible, is a bad one. All normal eyes require glasses for near vision about the age of forty or forty-five; postponing their use later than this age causes an effort which does harm.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

IN the October number of the *North American Review*, Mr. Stephen Bonsal reviews the work of the friars in the Philippines. He finds in it much to commend, and very little to condemn. To the charge of plunder, so frequently made, Mr. Bonsal replies:

"For three hundred years, these great corporations have been exploiting a country of large resources, the extent of which is alone known to them; and the valuation placed upon their estates, their monasteries, and

all their possessions, by Judge Taft is considerably under \$10,000,000, which estimate is considered a just, if not a generous, one. There are half a dozen foreign firms in Manila without the knowledge of the people and the islands which the friars possess, who have made as much money as this out of the Philippines within the decade."

EXPERT EVIDENCE.

Justice John Woodward, of the New York Supreme Court, maintains that, in criminal cases, the State should pay the experts called on both sides, a legal, absolute, and fair standard of compensation having been established. The expert can then have no incentive to be dishonest. The witness' chair would then afford no opportunity for exploitation by the sensational self-seeker.

DENMARK AND THE UNITED STATES.

Mrs. Gertrude Atherton summarizes the conditions of the substitute treaty, which is said to meet with the approval of the Danish party opposed to the sale of the Virgin Islands to the United States, as follows:

"That Denmark shall cede to the United States either St. Thomas or St. John, both of which islands have excellent harbors; that she shall guarantee never to sell the other islands to any power whatsoever, except the United States of America; that the United States shall, in return, arrange for tariff concessions to St. Croix.

"No money will change hands, and the United States will have the additional advantage of almost encompassing Denmark with the Monroe Doctrine, thus giving herself an excuse to check Russia, when that comorant makes her first sign of closing in upon Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, and threatens American trade in the Baltic. Denmark would part with one of her islands without regret, on account of the great advantage accruing to the most important, commercially, of the group, St. Croix; and the United States would gain the only advantage she wants, and be delivered from another incubus."

SUFFRAGE RESTRICTION IN THE SOUTH.

Mr. Clarence H. Poe, writing on the South's new method of dealing with the negro vote,—as illustrated in recent State constitutional conventions,—holds that this method, "in spite of appearances of injustice, promises better government, fairer elections, greater political freedom, and more generous treatment of the negro than would be possible were the national Government to compel a return to the policy of so-called unrestricted suffrage."

CAPTAIN HOBSON'S NAVAL PROGRAMME.

In an article under the taking title, "America Mistress of the Seas," Capt. Richmond Pearson Hobson outlines the following programme for the building up of our navy: "To start with the appropriation made at the Congress just adjourned, about \$30,000,000, and make an increase of \$5,000,000 for next year, or \$35,000,000 altogether for 1903, and increase this amount by \$5,000,000, or \$40,000,000 altogether for 1904, and so on; increasing for each year by \$5,000,000 the appropriation of the previous year, making for 1905, \$45,000,000; 1906, \$50,000,000; 1907, \$55,000,000; 1908, \$60,000,000; 1909, \$65,000,000; 1910, \$70,000,000; 1911, \$75,000,000; 1912, \$80,000,000; 1913, \$85,000,000; 1914, \$90,000,000; 1915, \$95,000,000; 1916, \$100,000,000; and so on, till we become the first

naval power. If the European nations continue to build along their present lines, I estimate that we should overtake Great Britain about 1920, when—at the rate indicated,—our naval appropriation for new ships would be \$120,000,000. The probabilities are strong, however, that the powers will accelerate even their present rates of increase, and we could scarcely expect to reach the top before 1930, when the annual appropriation would be \$170,000,000 for new ships."

OTHER ARTICLES.

Acting Adj.-Gen. W. H. Carter, U.S.A., advocates "A General Staff for the Army;" Mr. Walter Littlefield describes the effect of the Associations Law in France; Mr. R. B. Van Cortlandt writes on "Social Conditions and Business Success;" the Hon. Hannis Taylor on "An Ideal School of Politics and Jurisprudence;" and Sir Gilbert Parker on "Mr. Balfour and his Opportunities." The Hon. O. P. Austin contributes the first of a series of articles on "The Public Debt of the United States." There is a posthumous paper by the late Professor Schenck, of Vienna, on "The Mechanical Development of Sex."

THE FORUM.

THE second quarterly issue of the *Forum* has excellent reviews of "American Politics," by Henry Litchfield West; "Foreign Affairs," by A. Maurice Low; "Finance," by A. D. Noyes; "Applied Science," by Henry Harrison Supplee; "Literature," by Frank J. Mather, Jr.; "Music," by Henry T. Finck; "Sculpture," by Russell Sturgis; and "Educational Outlook," by Ossian H. Lang. All of these articles are in the nature of *résumés* of recent developments in the various fields surveyed.

In the department of "Educational Research," the editor, Dr. J. M. Rice, contributes an account of "A Test in Arithmetic."

GROWTH OF REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT IN RUSSIA.

Dr. Isaac A. Hourwich, writing on "The Political Situation in Russia," emphasizes the recent spread of revolutionary propaganda:

"For twenty years the government has managed to keep down the demand for constitutional reform, until now it is again met with the same agitation, renewed with greater vigor. It has been stated in a recent pamphlet by Mr. Bourtzeff—the Russian refugee, who has served a sentence of imprisonment in England for advocating in his publication the methods of the terrorists—that but a few years ago his appeals met with general disapproval among Russian revolutionary organizations. Since last year, however, the terrorists have been as active as during the days of the 'Executive Committee,' and there is only one little faction among the Russian social democrats that opposes them. Revolutionary conspiracy to-day has scores of thousands of active sympathizers to feed upon, where the Executive Committee of 1879-81 had only hundreds."

THE ARENA.

IN another department we have quoted at length from an article on "Anarchism at Close Quarters," by Dr. R. Warren Conant, which appears in the October *Arena*. In the same number there are papers on "The Civic Oversoul," by the Rev. Adolf Roeder; on "The Democracy of Shelley and Keats," by Prof. John

Ward Stimson; and on "Individual Freedom," by Eugene Del Mar.

Of a more concrete nature is the topic treated by Mr. James Allmann—"Russia as a Social Factor." This writer shows that, while in other lands a socialistic system can only be attained by the antagonism of classes and the overthrow of governments, in Russia it would simply mean the overthrowing of a despot. All else would easily follow.

CHILD LABOR IN SOUTHERN FACTORIES.

The importance of the movement to restrict child labor in the South is clearly brought out in an article by Mrs. Leonora Beck Ellis, who describes the situation as follows:

"The marvelous industrial transformation of the last decade has wrought as great a change in the moral questions bound up with such development. The mills in the South are suddenly reckoned by the hundreds; soon by the thousands; and the people of that section are confronted with the appalling fact that in many of these mills from 20 to 30 per cent. of the operatives are under sixteen years of age, hundreds of them being children of twelve, eleven, ten, and, in some cases, even younger.

"Public feeling has been greatly stirred on this score during the last two or three years, and bills for regulating child labor are now pending before the General Assembly of every cotton-growing State that has also entered cotton manufacturing. Tennessee, a sister of these (and, although reckoned chiefly a grain-producing and pastoral State, yet rich in minerals and boasting many large woolen mills), merits particular mention as having already passed an enactment fixing the age of employment of children in factories, mines, and similar places of labor at fourteen years, while Louisiana has for almost a decade restricted the age of girls to fourteen, and of boys to twelve."

Similar measures failed of passage in Georgia, Alabama, and the Carolinas, but are now strongly supported in these and other States.

THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

IN the *Contemporary Review* for October "An English General Officer" discusses General de Negrier's paper on the lessons of the Boer War, which was first published in *La Revue* and afterward in the *Contemporary*. On the whole, he agrees with General Negrier.

HYPNOTISM.

F. W. Edridge-Green and E. G. P. Bousfield write on "The Abuse and Control of Hypnotism." They demand that the practice of hypnotism should be restricted, like that of vivisection, to qualified persons, in whose hands it may be used for the good of humanity, and not for mischievous objects. At all events, persons who desire to practice hypnotism should be required to take out a license. The writers discuss the assertions made by the present advertisers of hypnotic cures, and state certain guiding facts. Hypnotism, they declare, is bound in time to prove more or less deleterious. It is possible to hypnotize a person gradually without his realizing the fact. It is not true to say that any one who is hypnotized has done more himself to induce the condition than the operator has done.

THE FRENCH IN CENTRAL AFRICA.

Mr. Edgar J. Wardle, in an article under the above

title, sees the chief danger for the French in Central Africa in Senussi-ism. "It is very much to be feared," he says, "that the French will have before them the task of finishing the work begun by Lord Kitchener at Khartoum,—that is, to destroy the last force of organized Moslem fanaticism in Africa." The Senussi have always been in contact with the dervishes on the Nile, from whom they have received many reinforcements, and at the same time they have easily obtained supplies of arms and ammunition through Ben Ghazi, though the Turks are supposed to prohibit this traffic.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Mr. E. M. Konstam writes a paper on "Indian Caste and English Law." Mr. E. R. Newbegin has a somewhat abstract paper on "The Theory of Government by Democracy," in which he says that the true point of view from which to regard democratic government is that it represents the reciprocal play of expert judgment and common sense. There is a charming article by Dr. Woods Hutchinson describing a visit made by him to an island off the Oregon coast.

Col. Carroll D. Wright's article on American labor organizations is quoted at some length elsewhere.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER.

THE chief distinctions of the *Nineteenth Century* for October are the series of articles on the education bill and Mr. Sidney Low's Conservative programme, which are intended chiefly for British consumption.

OLD AGE HOMES.

Miss Edith Sellers, who speaks with the authority of an expert on state provision for the aged, sums up the result of her investigation by saying that were she a worn-out worker she would like to change her nationality and become a Dane, an Austrian, or a Russian; for, of all the nations of Europe, these three best understand how to deal with the old and destitute. Their homes are the brightest and cheeriest of resorts. In Denmark, by a law of 1891, any man or woman over sixty years of age who can show a decent record is housed, fed, and clothed at the expense of the nation as an honored veteran of industry. The old folks are content and thankful. The cost per head in Danish homes averages 25 cents a day. "In the most comfortless of all the London workhouses it is 47 cents." The cost is about the same in Russia. It costs England more to make her old people miserable than the Danes spend in making their old people happy. The picture is a beautiful contrast to Miss Sellers' last month's sketch of a London workhouse.

WANTED: ONE SUPREME COURT FOR THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

Judge Hodges, of Melbourne, pleads for an imperial court of final appeal. At present the House of Lords is the seat for final appeal for the United Kingdom, and the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council for British dominions over-sea. The writer would make one of these,—or, preferably, a new court,—the finally decisive tribunal. He makes the shrewd remark that not only would this supreme court add to the weight and splendor of London, but it would enlist in the maintenance of the unity of empire the legal profession, whose members would everywhere aspire after a seat in the supreme court as the summit of their ambition.

THE PROFESSIONAL CRIMINAL.

Fortified by the recent recommendations of judges and commissioners, Sir Robert Anderson reiterates his plea for exceptional treatment of the small group of habitual malefactors. He would authorize the indictment of a prisoner, after repeated conviction, as a professional criminal. If proved a professional criminal, he would, on a subsequent conviction for crime and after serving out that sentence, be further detained in custody during His Majesty's pleasure. The certainty of such a fate would, in the opinion of the writer, induce the professional criminals to turn their talents into some new and less dangerous calling.

A PARALLEL TO THE BRITISH WAR OFFICE.

It is a most instructive parallel which O. Eltzbacher draws between the French War Office on the breaking out of the Franco-German War and the British War Office in the South African War. There was the same rotten class-system, though, mercifully, not the same crushing overthrow.

THE FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.

IN the *Fortnightly Review* for October, Mr. W. H. Mallock concludes his series of nineteen essays on "Science and Religion, at the Dawn of the Twentieth Century." The gist of it all is that there are contradictions in every department of life; therefore, we ought not to recoil from the idea of belief in the religious doctrine of things, although we cannot reconcile it with the scientific doctrine of things.

THE ANTI-CLERICAL RÉGIME IN FRANCE.

Mr. Richard Davey, in an article entitled "A Few More French Facts," writes a very powerful article, full of quotations and facts, protesting against the conduct of the present French ministry in enforcing the law against the schools kept by the unauthorized religious orders. He maintains that the experiment which is now being made by the French people is to ascertain whether it is possible for a nation to be governed without the assistance of the greatest of moral forces. Before another year is out, Mr. Davey thinks, events will happen which may reduce the leaders of the third republic to remember the fate of the first. Mr. Davey quotes a saying from M. Thiers that the attempt to establish an anti-religious government was the real cause of the collapse of the French republics, both in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

WHAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAS DONE IN IRELAND.

"An Old Whig of the School of Grattan" writes sixteen pages full of invective against the administration of the Unionist government in Ireland since the year 1895. Never had an English government such an admirable opportunity of administering Ireland in her true interests, and passing legislation adapted to her; but never has any government so bitterly disappointed the expectations with which its advent was hailed. His chief complaint against the government is that it allowed the United Irish League to grow up and flourish. He concludes his long diatribe by suggesting that a thorough inquiry should be held into the land question through the agency of a commission, which should be charged with reporting what changes should be made in the law.

THE ATTITUDE OF GERMANY TO ENGLAND.

In an article entitled "German Light on German

Policy," "Calchas" quotes exhaustively from the collected papers which Dr. Schliemann contributed to the *Kreuz Zeitung* in the last few years. From these papers, and from other evidence to which he refers, he comes to some very familiar conclusions. He thinks that Germany trades upon the traditional antagonism between Russia and England; that, if she gets to the Persian Gulf, she will disclaim any intention of hindering Russia from obtaining the same privilege; and that she is much more likely to join the dual alliance in breaking down England's sea-power than to join that nation in case of war with Russia and France.

GERMAN COLONIES WITHOUT COLONISTS.

Mr. J. L. Bashford writes a very interesting and well-informed paper concerning the German colonies and naval power. The German population has increased, since 1895, at the rate of from 700,000 to 845,000 every year; but emigration has steadily fallen off. In the year 1892 more than 110,000 Germans emigrated, whereas the number of German emigrants in 1901 was little more than 20,000. There are nine German colonies covering an area of a million square miles, or one-twelfth of the area of the British Empire beyond the seas. But the total number of Germans in all the German colonies was, in 1902, only 4,058. Besides these 4,000 Germans, there were about 2,000 other whites. The total cost of administering this million square miles, with its 4,000 German inhabitants, will amount this year to \$6,250,000. The total revenue collected from the colonies themselves does not amount to \$2,000,000. The German Empire, therefore, spends more than \$4,000,000 every year in subsidizing colonies which afford a home for only 4,000 Germans. Every German colonist, therefore, costs the mother-country \$1,000 a year. It would certainly be better to maintain them at home. But, it may be said, there is a profit in the colonial trade. But German colonies export to Germany goods to the value of only \$330,000 a year, and, if exports to other countries are included, the total colonial export is only \$3,500,000. It comes to this, therefore,—that in order to secure exports from the colonies of \$3,500,000 a year, \$4,000,000 a year is extracted from the German taxpayers.

THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

THE *Westminster Review* for October is one of the best of the monthly reviews. Topics of special interest to English readers are "Fighting the Plague in India," and "An Order of Brethren of Cleanliness."

Besides these articles there is one very interesting paper, aglow with enthusiasm, in which an English lady, who has adopted India as her home, and the Hindu religion as her faith, vindicates the people of India—especially the women,—from what she declares to be the calumnious misrepresentations of the missionaries.

Mrs. Swiney, writing on "Church and Women," vigorously impeaches the Church for having taken little part in the great work of righting the wrongs of women. She declares that the Church is daily alienating and driving out of her fold her foremost and most devoted supporters, who have hitherto lovingly and ungrudgingly spent themselves on her behalf. As the Church palliated and condoned the immoralities of the Restoration and the Georgian period, so she has been blind and deaf and dumb before the increasing insincerity and moral decadence of modern times. Mrs. Swiney maintains that it requires no gift of prophecy to aver that

the Church stands or falls by her future attitude toward the great industrial, ethical, and spiritual developments of the new century, in which women will take paramount part as workers and initiators.

THE NATIONAL REVIEW.

WE have noticed elsewhere Dr. Kramarz's important article on "Europe and the Bohemian Question." The anti-German campaign of the *National* is represented not only by Dr. Kramarz's paper, but also by a contribution from Sir Rowland Blennerhassett on "The Origin of the Franco-Prussian War." The gist of Sir Rowland Blennerhassett's paper is, that owing to the intrigue between France and Austria for united action against Prussia, Bismarck could not be blamed for forcing on war before the enemies of his country had completed preparations. But Prussia had been determined to fight France for the supremacy of Europe as she had fought Austria for the supremacy of Germany.

"Bismarck brought on the war at the right moment for his country. Prussianized Germany is now preparing for the struggle with Great Britain which Cavour foresaw. Should it come about, it will be a war for supremacy on the ocean. She is adding to her fleet a class of ship specially suited for an attack on England. The same methods, exactly, are employed by her against the British Empire which she formerly used against France. The German mind is being trained to receive with enthusiasm the announcement of a war with England when the time comes. *Videant consules*. Though the sands are running low in the hourglass I believe that, with courage and foresight on the part of our statesmen, that conflict may still be avoided."

THE AUTOMOBILE PROBLEM IN ENGLAND.

Mr. Alfred Harmsworth contributes an interesting paper on "The Serious Problem of the Motor Car." Mr. Harmsworth says that some means of identification of each car should be provided, but that no identification system can be adopted without proper safeguards against the mendacity and prejudice imported into nearly every motor car case. The regulations in the law of 1869 relating to tires practically prevent the use of safety tires which are popular in Paris and do away with side-slip. English roads require reconstruction; dangerous corners must be widened, and hedges at corners must be cut down; some roads, as in France, should be reserved either for horse-drawn carriages or for automobiles exclusively. Mr. Harmsworth anticipates that soon there will radiate from London a great system of motor ways, for the support of which it will be necessary to reintroduce the toll system. These roads should be constructed of some material free from dust. On the question of the competency of drivers—which Mr. Harmsworth regards as the gravest question of all,—he says that the public will soon demand not only identification, but heavy penalties and damages in case of accidents, the licenses of drivers to be withdrawn in cases of misconduct.

The most interesting of the other contributions is the chapter of Sir Horace Rumbold's "Recollections," which deals with his life in Russia in 1870-71. Mr. J. R. Fisher reviews Mr. O'Donnell's book, "The Ruin of Education in Ireland." There is an article on St. Helena, written in the island by a Boer prisoner as a prize essay in the school which was carried on for the benefit of the prisoners.

THE CONTINENTAL REVIEWS.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES.

M. GASTON BONET-MAURY contributes to the first September number of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* a study of R. L. Stevenson as traveler and romance writer. Of course, he naturally pays special attention to "An Inland Voyage" and "Travels with a Donkey in the Cévennes;" and, indeed, he traces the bond between Stevenson the traveler and Stevenson the romance writer to this passion for exploring, this taste for adventure. The influence of Sir Walter Scott he traces in several of the novels, and he also attributes to Edgar Allan Poe, Dickens, and Meredith, a good deal of influence on Stevenson as a writer. At the same time he does bring out very clearly how much Stevenson owed to certain French writers, both great and small; these were the poets Charles d'Orléans and Villon, the critical spirit of Montaigne, and the works of Balzac, Baudelaire, and Victor Hugo. Stevenson hated Zola; indeed, he would not have exchanged a chapter of *Dumas père* for all Zola's bag of tricks—fiction suffering from smallpox, he called it! After the death of Dumas, he regarded Alphonse Daudet as incontestably the first of French romance writers, and he also appreciated the genius of Bourget and Loti. M. Bonet-Maury divides Stevenson's romances into three groups—those which portray the manners of certain social classes; those which analyze certain curious psychological states; and thirdly, the romances of love, properly so-called.

PIERRE LOTI IN INDIA.

In the second September number M. Pierre Loti continues his remarkable travel articles on India. It is an extraordinarily rich and splendid style which M. Loti brings to the description of the mingled wonders and horrors of India's ancient faiths. In this article, too, he describes his visit to Pondicherry, which naturally awakens in his loyal French heart very mingled feelings. When Loti was ten years old an aged great-aunt once spoke to him of a friend she had had long ago in Pondicherry, and read to the little boy a passage from one of her letters,—dated even then half a century back,—in which there was much talk of palm trees and pagodas. So it was with a deep sense of melancholy that he arrived at this little, old, dying town, the grave of so many splendid hopes. It must all the same be an intensely interesting place. There are several French families there who preserve the traditions of the old manners of the eighteenth century, the period to which their furniture and their clocks belong.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Among other articles may be mentioned the continuation of M. Sorel's series on the "Peace of Amiens;" M. Prinz on the collectivist tendency; and M. Charles Benoist on production, wages, and agreements in coal mines.

REVUE DE PARIS.

THE *Revue de Paris* for September opens with a fascinating natural history article, under the general title of "Pirate Insects," by M. Berthelot.

THE ANTARCTIC PROBLEM.

Mr. Rabot attacks the difficult question of what he

calls the Antarctic problem. Up to the present time the North Pole and the South Pole have defied every effort made by man to penetrate their icy fortresses. This is even truer of the South Pole than of the North Pole, for more than one explorer can congratulate himself on having very nearly reached the North Pole; but the portion of the map where the South Pole may be supposed to be still shows a large blank space. Curiously enough, the problem excites the most interest in England and in Germany, and in the summer of 1901 the *Discovery* and the *Gauss* left Europe bound for the South Pole, while a few weeks later a third expedition, commanded by Dr. Otto Nordenskjöld, also set forth on the same enterprise. The French writer points out that this ardent research of what has hitherto baffled the explorers of the Christian era may well be called the twentieth-century crusade, for there is scarcely a civilized nation, save France, which has not made a more or less determined effort to solve the tantalizing problem.

THE NATIONAL MUSIC OF RUSSIA.

Has Russia a typical music of her own? Yes, says M. A. Bruneau, who was sent by the French Minister of Fine Arts to find out whether this was indeed the case. We are not told with what object this inquiry was set afoot, but the results are not without interest to the lovers of the "heavenly maid." In the seventeenth century the Russian composer, Nikon, reformed the Greek liturgy, and caused the organ to give way, in orthodox churches, to the human voice. During the eighteenth century he was succeeded by several remarkable composers, but they, one and all, devoted their talents to Church music. Then, early in the last century, Titow wrote several operas, some of which are still popular; but not till thirty years later did a Russian composer arise whose fame penetrated beyond his native country. Michael Glinka did for Russian music what Shakespeare did for English literature; he gathered up all the best work of the composers of the past, confirming the popularity of several airs which have been sung by the Russian peasantry during immemorial ages, for it should not be ignored that Russia has long had a folk music of her own, much as other countries have a folk lore of their own. At the present time, according to the French critic, the leading Russian composer is Rimsky Korsakow, who has composed several operas, and who himself conducted the first performance of his greatest, "Antar," during the French Exhibition of 1889. M. Bruneau notes with approval that Russian composers do not seek their libretti among their friends, or among those writers who regard the words of an opera as of little consequence; instead, they seek for inspiration among the works of the great writers; thus, Gogol has inspired more than one opera, and Pouchkine is a mine of wealth to the Russian composer.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Other articles consist of two long installments of Madame de Rémusat's letters from her provincial home, written from 1815 to 1817, and which scarce possess enough interest to have been worthy of publication; of an historical paper setting forth the oft-told tale of Louis XIV.'s infatuation for Madame de Montespan; and an anonymous attack on the red-tapeism which

makes France's distant colonies compare so unfavorably with those which go to compose Greater Britain.

NOUVELLE REVUE.

IN the *Nouvelle Revue*, M. Raquini attempts to explain the new system of public education now being tried in Italy, which seems to be entirely modelled on that of modern France. He gives some curious details concerning salaries. Many university professors receive a total income of something like \$750 a year, rising, when old age is reached, to \$1,200. This scale applies only to the teachers at the great universities. A master at an ordinary public school or *Lycée* considers himself very fortunate when, after twenty-five years' work, he can earn as much as \$600 a year. In spite of the fact that education is in Italy absolutely obligatory, few of the Italian poor, especially in southern Italy, can yet read or write. Each parish is allowed to "run" its own school as it fancies. In Umbria one unfortunate schoolmaster with a total salary of \$100 a year was supposed to manage three parish schools. In another populous little town the teaching of 130 children is confided to one harassed individual.

SYNDICATES AND TRUSTS.

M. Arthur Raffalovich contributes to the first September number of the *Nouvelle Revue* a paper on the very timely subject of syndicates and trusts. It is a brief, well-written account of the present position of this movement for the concentration of industry, which has attained such enormous proportions in the last few years. M. Raffalovich observes that the present development coincides with the great prosperity of the United States which followed the Spanish-American War, and the outburst of speculation which then seized upon the great American financiers, though it left the simple public relatively cold. As regards what may be called the ethics of the trust movement, M. Raffalovich has no special remedies to suggest in order to mitigate its ill effects in a social sense. In practice it is not, as a rule, the shareholders who do benefit, but the financial go-betweens, who succeed in effecting the sales of individual businesses to the trust or the syndicate; indeed, it would seem to be a fatal law of the trust movement that every such organization should be over-capitalized. It is interesting to note that the writer hails with satisfaction the success of the Brussels convention on sugar bounties, and he appears to have a wholesale dislike to trade bounties bestowed by the state in any form, for he is well aware how greatly these artificial restrictions assist the operation of trusts and syndicates.

LA REVUE.

DR. S. BERNHEIM, as the head of "L'Œuvre de la Tuberculose Humaine," writes for *La Revue* a lengthy article on tuberculosis and how to insure against it. Every year at least 150,000 consumptives die in France; recent statistics prove that 200,000 is nearer the mark. For each tuberculous person dead there are three living; of these 600,000, it is estimated that 300,000 are needy. In Paris the evil is worse than in the provinces. And, whereas tuberculosis is increasing in France, it is decreasing in England and Germany. Out of 1,000,000 there were, in 1899, in Russia over 4,000 deaths; in France, 3,000; in Germany, 2,000; and in England and Scotland, 2,000. These are from

pulmonary consumption alone. Dr. Bernheim then gives many details of the German system of combating consumption. Germany now possesses 82 popular sanatoria, which can hold 20,000 poor consumptives. The sick and old age insurance funds have favored in every way the building of sanatoria. Dr. Bernheim argues that what has been so successful in Germany might be made to succeed in France. The machinery of provident societies is already to hand. Provision would be needed for 30,000 consumptives,—that is, 50 sanatoria, of 150 beds each. Every sanatorium would cost \$100,000. The initial outlay of \$5,000,000 is only the sum which Dr. Bernheim tells the mutual assistance societies they are at present spending so fruitlessly, without real benefit to the sick, whose ever-increasing numbers alarm them.

THE OBSCURE HISTORY OF MONTE CARLO.

M. Goldorp, writing on Monte Carlo and how it has come to be what it is, tells a curious story of how in thirty years vice has transformed a village of 600 souls into a principality of 20,000, the richest and most attractive in the world.

The \$5,000,000 revenue of the Casino pays all the expenses of the principality, affords the prince a handsome income, and pays the costly *personnel* and the enormous interest to the shareholders.

OTHER ARTICLES.

M. Changeur gives an interesting account of Madame de Saint-Balmon, a truly remarkable and admirable woman, though some of her exploits, he admits, may be partly legendary. At any rate, to her Louis XIII. offered the command of a regiment of infantry.

M. Pottier gives a depressing account of the proletariat in the theatrical and concert world.

THE GERMAN MAGAZINES.

THE *Deutsche Revue* opens with an article by Lieut.-Gen. Z. D. Metzler upon the armed peace of Europe and the disarmament question. He goes over much of the ground, now so familiar to us, as to the huge cost of moving and feeding the colossal armies of modern Europe. If, for instance, the whole 4,330,000 men of the German army were mobilized, the cost of maintenance would work out at about \$6,250,000 a day. Add to this the dislocation of trade and commerce which would be an inevitable result, and we have the chief cause of continued peace in Europe. An appeal to arms would now involve such fearful consequences that statesmen are more and more loath to let slip the dogs of war. General Metzler points out that we have had continued wars during the last few years, but wars of a sort which will always occur, and which, in his opinion, no arbitration court can help to avoid. There are wars in which one side is very much superior to the other, and, seizing an opportune moment, decides to attack in order to increase its territory. Such was the case in the South African and in the Spanish-American wars, although in the latter case many would deny the fact that America felt herself very much stronger than Spain. The event proved she was, but beforehand it was surely in doubt.

M. von Brandt gives a short appreciation of Cecil Rhodes. He points out that Rhodes made money not for the sake of doing so, but because it enabled him to strive toward his goal—the extension of British rule in

South Africa. He began with nothing, and presented his fatherland with a territory five times as large as the British Isles.

The *Deutsche Rundschau* completes its twenty-eighth volume with this number, and intends having, as one of its chief features during its twenty-ninth year, a novel entitled "Refugium Peccatorum," by Ossip Schubin. Georg Gerland gives a very full account of the eruption of Mont Pelée in Martinique. He treats the subject from a scientific point of view and gives a great deal of useful information. Mont Pelée is covered with luxurious growth, and it is the wonderful fruitfulness of these islands which induces such comparatively large numbers to reside there; to live in such a volcano-strewn land seems, otherwise, quite foolhardy. August Fournier writes upon Marie Louise and the downfall of Napoleon, and Alfred Thumb upon the old Persian cuneiform inscriptions. The development of mankind is, he says, one of the first objects of scientific research; and Grotefend, by his researches amongst the inscriptions of old Persia, has done very much to increase our knowledge of the history of the human race.

THE DUTCH MAGAZINES.

THE most attractive article in the current *Elsevier* is that on the art of printing on cretonne and other stuffs. Both animals and man have experienced the necessity or desire of decorating themselves, as the writer points out in the opening lines, and man has had recourse to coloring, or to designs affixed in some way or other to plain cloths. Colored decorations on cloth were brought to Holland by Portuguese navigators in the Middle Ages, and the Dutch set to work to copy them; in England, similar attempts were made about the same time; and in 1634, under Charles II.—which is probably a misprint for Charles I.—a patent was granted for "The Art or Mystery of Affixing Wool, Silk and Other Materials of Divers Colours on Linen, Silk or Other Cements; to Make Them Useful for Hangings, etc." In 1720, the wearing of these printed stuffs was forbidden. There is a good deal of interesting information in the article, both historical and technical, and several designs are shown in the illustration. There is a great liking nowadays to learn "how it is done" in respect of everything, so this article will be welcome. Among the other contents of this magazine is a description of a stay in the Berkel district, which forms pleasant reading, but contains nothing remarkable, and is illustrated with the usual country scenes. The art contributions are in evidence again, while a story and the monthly chats make up the list for this month.

Woord en Beeld has an account of a visit to a coal mine, written and illustrated by Mr. Oppenoorth and another better-known contributor, Mr. Krabbe. The illustrations show us the type of miners, the boring of a passage, and other incidents in coal mining. The writers give us a good description, with historical data. The portrait of Mr. Cort van der Linden, with a character sketch, makes us better acquainted with a prominent man in Holland; there is another descriptive sketch,—this time of a country district,—a play, music, and an installment of a novel as a monthly supplement.

Passing the novel of Augusta de Wit, previously noticed, the first contribution is "Poetry and Labor," based on a German book called "Labor and Rhythm." The origin of poetry is a difficult problem to solve; but there seems to be some ground for believing that it

came into existence with the performance of tasks which were not pleasurable ones, and these tasks may be summed up in the word "work." To cheer the weary hours of labor the workers sang, keeping time with the movement of their hands or the strokes of the primitive tools or machines. The woman at the spinning wheel, the Chinese tea-pickers, and numerous workers in all parts of the world, have their songs or rhymes to accompany the movements they or their implements make as the task is performed. The work seems to be done more easily when a song accompanies it, and this may well suggest that labor created poetry.

THE ITALIAN REVIEWS.

THE *Nuova Antologia* follows up the agitation against the white slave traffic, which it courageously initiated some months ago, by an excellent *résumé* from the pen of Marquis Paulucci de Calboli, of the work accomplished by the international congress, held in Paris last July, at which sixteen countries were represented, and also of the progress made by the movement throughout Italy during the last year. It is gratifying to record that every section of the nation, —Catholic and Protestant, Liberal and Socialist,—has joined in the movement, the need for action being emphasized by the geographical position of Italy, from whose ports girls may be shipped with deplorable facility to Cairo, Constantinople, Tunis, and other haunts of vice. Very much requires to be done before the traffic can be suppressed; but at least, as Marquis Paulucci rejoices, the conspiracy of silence which hitherto has enveloped the subject has been broken down, and that, in itself, is a great step toward moral reform.

The fame of Mr. H. G. Wells has just spread into Italy, thanks to the recent translation into Italian of his "War of the Worlds." Both the *Nuova Antologia* and the *Nuova Parola* for September publish laudatory notices of his work, together with his portrait, and hail him as the creator of an entirely new type of fiction. The leader of modern thought to whom the *Nuova Parola* devotes its monthly biographical sketch is Mrs. Besant, whose life is described at length and with much enthusiasm. It is curious, in a paper otherwise accurate, to find the late Mr. Bradlaugh, of all men, spoken of throughout as "Lord Bradlaugh."

The *Civiltà Cattolica* (September 20), taking as its theme the priceless astronomical instruments which Count Waldersee was pleased to transfer from Peking to Potsdam as part of his country's war-booty, gives a long account of astronomy as practiced by the Chinese, pointing out that they already possessed in the thirteenth century instruments which were not made in Europe before the sixteenth. It was the Jesuits' well-known superiority as astronomers which first secured for them in China the consideration they enjoyed during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The erection of a new statue of St. Francis on the picturesque hillside of La Verna inspires the *Rassegna Nazionale* to devote two articles to the Saint of Assisi (September 1 and 15). G. Grabinski begins an elaborate study of the life of Montalembert, specially interesting at the present moment as showing how the Catholic party in the middle of the last century secured the right of freedom of education of which the authorities to-day have just deprived them.

THE NEW BOOKS.

NOTES ON RECENT AMERICAN PUBLICATIONS.

AMERICAN HISTORY.

IN the department of history one of the most interesting of the season's publications is a volume entitled "The Struggle for a Continent," edited from the writings of Francis Parkman by Pelham Edgar, Ph.D. (Boston: Little, Brown & Co.). It is possible to compile from Parkman's works an almost continuous account of the efforts of France and England to obtain possession of the American Continent, beginning with the colonization of Florida by the Huguenots in 1502, and ending with the fall of Quebec in 1759. The editor has wisely retained the language of the original, excepting in those cases where it was necessary to supply connecting links between successive historical episodes. Thus, the book represents not only a succinct narrative of early American history, but preserves the literary form of writings which, regarded purely as literature, are unrivalled among the works of American historians. The complete works of Parkman are in thirteen volumes, but they are quite beyond the reach of the multitude. In this one volume are included the more important and picturesque passages selected from the entire series, and the reader is enabled to get the historian's point of view almost as clearly as by the perusal of the entire set.

The greater part of the period pre-empted by the historian Parkman is also covered by the new volume of John Fiske, "New France and New England" (Houghton, Mifflin & Co.). This book was left by Mr. Fiske at his death in manuscript. The third chapter, entitled "The Lords of Acadia—Later History of Champlain," has been completed in accordance with Mr. Fiske's own memoranda indicating what incidents he proposed to include. The other chapters of the book were in the form of carefully prepared lectures delivered before the Lowell Institute in Boston during the last winter of the author's life. The work of the editors in preparing these chapters for the press has been chiefly confined to the making of side-notes and annotations calling attention to authorities. This volume completes the series of historical studies projected by Mr. Fiske many years ago, which have covered the whole story of the settlement and development of the colonies from the discovery of America until the adoption of the Constitution of the United States. The notable qualities of style which have made Mr. Fiske's books the most popular among recently published histories of America are present in this posthumous volume.

A subject of such obvious interest that we wonder it has not sooner been treated has been chosen by Mr. Charles Knowles Bolton for a volume entitled "The Private Soldier Under Washington" (Scribners). The actual daily life of the private soldier in our Revolutionary armies can only be understood after a most painstaking search of military reports, letters, and other contemporaneous documents. Mr. Bolton has performed this laborious task with much enthusiasm, and has afforded the reader every means of verifying his statements by giving the names of the authorities who saw

the conditions or events described. Pictures of ancient articles of equipment, reproductions made from plates, and fac-similes of rare posters and manuscripts illustrate the book.

"New Amsterdam and Its People" is the title of a volume of exceptionally thorough social and topographical studies of the old settlement on Manhattan Island under early Dutch and English rule, by J. H. Innes (Scribners). Much attention has been given by Mr. Innes to the character of the early population of New Amsterdam, and it may surprise many readers to learn from his pages that within the first thirty or forty years of the colonization of the place there were to be met with in the town representatives of every country in Europe west of the line of Slavonic peoples, although the Dutch greatly predominated. Says Mr. Innes in his preface: "About the only type which the author has been unable to meet with in his researches is the dunder-headed Dutchman of fictitious history and of historical fiction,—the embodiment of the popular idea of the Dutch phlegmatic temperament; a marvelous compound of Captain Bunsby and the Fat Boy in Pickwick." So thoroughgoing an investigation as Mr. Innes has conducted could hardly fail to dispel many traditions that have little more than antiquity to sustain them. But in partial compensation for the loss of some of these entertaining bits of folk lore, the reader is supplied with a great fund of accurate and well-digested information covering all the operations of the Dutch settlers on Manhattan Island, and much of the work of their immediate successors. The illustrations consist largely of old maps, plans, reproductions of ancient plates, and a few views of modern New York streets by way of contrast.

The fourth volume of Gen. Edward McCrady's "History of South Carolina" (Macmillan) completes the history of the Revolution in that State from 1780 to the conclusion of peace in 1783. Few persons, perhaps, are aware of the importance of South Carolina as the battlefield which decided the destinies of all the thirteen colonies during the last three years of the Revolution. No fewer than one hundred and thirty-seven battles were fought within the boundaries of the State during that time, and it was the author's purpose in the present volume to study the operations in South Carolina as part of the general British campaign, planned and directed by the War Office in London, and to discuss the effect of the defeat of that plan upon the fortunes of the whole country. As his work was written from the South Carolina point of view, the achievements of the partisan leaders,—Sumpter, Marion, Pickens, and their followers,—naturally have a large place in the story, while the volume, as a whole, may be said to contain the history of General Greene's campaign in the South.

In the second volume of Prof. J. P. Gordy's "Political History of the United States," now appearing in a new edition (New York: Henry Holt & Co.), which covers the period beginning with Madison's administration and ends with the election of Jackson, the author an-

nounces two conclusions which he deems especially important: "That unwise financial legislation was primarily responsible for the dangerous position of the country at the close of the War of 1812, and that the public opinion of the North with reference to the negro prior to 1830 differed but little from that of the South, the greater readiness to free him in the former section having been due to the fact that if freed he would live at the South." In order to give the facts that led to these conclusions their proper setting, Professor Gordy has recast the entire volume, thus making virtually a new book.

A little book that should interest all Americans, and especially all Americans of Puritan ancestry, is "Milton's England," by Mrs. Edwin D. Mead (Boston: L. C. Page & Co.). Mrs. Mead begins with a graphic description of the London into which Milton was born. This is followed by several chapters of a biographical nature in which descriptions of localities have an important part, and these, in turn, by detailed accounts of various well-known haunts of English Puritans. Mrs. Mead has made a substantial contribution to our knowledge of the English environment of the Puritan forefathers.

In connection with the article on "The South and Her History," by David Y. Thomas, published in the October number of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS, it is interesting to note that Volumes IV. and V. of the "Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society" (University, Mississippi: Franklin L. Riley, secretary and treasurer) have recently appeared. These volumes include contributions to military, political, religious, and literary history. Many of the monographs contain much genealogical and biographical material, supplemented by entertaining reminiscences of pioneer life and stories of early events in the history of the State. There is a special chapter on political and parliamentary orators and oratory in Mississippi. Volume V. is a valuable report of the Historical Commission to the governor of the State, representing in part the results of the first systematic efforts that have ever been made to take an inventory of the historical materials relating to Mississippi.

In the "Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science" (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press) is presented Mr. George L. P. Radcliffe's monograph on "Gov. Thomas H. Hicks of Maryland and the Civil War." The importance of Maryland in the political struggle immediately preceding the Civil War was due, to a great extent, to her geographical position. It caused the course of events in that State to be anxiously watched, gave great prominence to the governor of the State, and drew unusual attention to his struggle with the so-called "Rebel Legislature." Mr. Radcliffe has based his accounts on contemporary newspapers, private correspondence, and State publications.

In the same series Prof. William E. Martin contributes a paper on "Internal Improvements in Alabama." The author traces the development of the public highways of Alabama, and points out their influence upon immigration and settlement. He indicates briefly what has been done by the Federal Government in improving rivers and harbors and in aiding the construction of railroads, and discusses the policy of the State respecting public aid to such works.

Another Johns Hopkins contribution to history is Mr. James Warner Harry's paper on "The Maryland Constitution of 1851." This monograph deals with an agita-

tion in Maryland which resulted in the call of a constitutional convention known as the "Reform Convention of 1850." Mr. Harry traces the growth of the idea of constitutional experiment, giving the history of the Convention of 1850 and analyzing the constitution which it gave to the people of the State for their ratification or rejection.

BIOGRAPHICAL WORKS.

It is not likely that the character and career of Daniel Webster will ever cease to be intensely interesting to American youth. From time to time short biographies of Webster appear, few of which pretend to be more than convenient summaries of authoritative works which were written within a few years after his death. A brilliant exception to this rule is the illustrated life of Daniel Webster, by John Bach McMaster (Century Company), portions of which have been published during the past three years in the pages of the *Century Magazine*. In its completed form this life of Webster has many points of excellence which we think will cause it to be preferred to most, if not all, of the popular "lives" that have preceded it. Professor McMaster's long-continued researches in the sources of American political and social history have qualified him in a marked degree for the successful performance of such a task as the portrayal of a central political figure like Webster, whose political career was related so closely to the slavery agitation culminating in the middle of the last century. The reader will find, however, that while special attention has been given to Webster's political career, the personal side of his life has by no means been neglected. In fact, the whole treatment of Webster's personality is singularly well adapted to the wants of the youthful American approaching the subject for the first time. The illustrations,—partly drawings, partly reproductions of old paintings, are extremely interesting.

Although many lives of Daniel Boone have been published, there is only one library in the United States which contains the materials for an exhaustive biography of the famous Kentucky pioneer. The late Dr. Lyman C. Draper, of Wisconsin, spent a whole life-time in gathering materials for such a work, but he died before his manuscript had advanced beyond a few chapters. All his materials are now in the possession of the Wisconsin State Historical Society, and from them the secretary of that society, Mr. Reuben Gold Thwaites, has written a life of Boone for Appleton's "Life Histories." Mr. Thwaites is not disposed to claim for Boone all that his many admirers have attributed to him in years past. He does not even hail Boone as the founder of Kentucky; does not regard Boone's services in defense of the West during nearly a half-century of border warfare as comparable to those of George Rogers Clark or Benjamin Logan. As a commonwealth builder, Boone was surpassed by several. "Nevertheless, Boone's picturesque career possesses a romantic and even pathetic interest that can never fail to charm the student of history. He was great as a hunter, explorer, surveyor, and land pilot; probably he found few equals as a rifleman; no man on the border knew Indians more thoroughly, or fought them more skillfully, than he; his life was filled to the brim with perilous adventures."

The late John G. Nicolay's "Short Life of Abraham Lincoln" (Century Company) is an admirable one-volume condensation of the elaborate "Abraham Lincoln: A History" of Messrs. Nicolay and Hay. It is fortunate that Mr. Nicolay was able to complete his editorial

work on this volume shortly before his death. He seems to have included in it all the essential facts of Lincoln's life, and in the strictest sense of the word the book is an abridgment of the ten-volume history.

"Thoreau, His Home, Friends, and Books," by Annie Russell Marble (Crowell), while not strictly a new biography of the naturalist and recluse, still presents a striking picture of Thoreau's personality considered in relation to his environment. The book is in the fullest sense a character sketch, rather than a formal life history.

Two of the recent volumes in the "English Men of Letters" series (Macmillan) are "John Ruskin," by Frederic Harrison, and "Tennyson," by Sir Alfred Lyall. In his introductory estimate of Ruskin as a man of letters, Mr. Harrison makes the striking assertion, which probably cannot be successfully controverted, that "The writer of the Victorian era who poured forth the greatest mass of literature upon the greatest variety of subjects, about whom most was written in his own lifetime in Europe and in America, who in the English-speaking world left the most direct and most visible imprint of his tastes and thoughts,—was John Ruskin." Both the Ruskin and Tennyson volumes in this excellent series meet the demand for brief, reliable, and well-written sketches of two of the great English writers of the last half-century.

The first English woman to have a place in this "English Men of Letters" series is "George Eliot," whose life has been written by Leslie Stephen in a compact sketch of 200 pages. Two other recent volumes in the same series are "William Hazlitt," by Augustine Birrell, and "Matthew Arnold," by Herbert W. Paul.

In a new book on "Sir Joshua Reynolds, His Life and Art," by Lord Ronald Sutherland Gower, F.S.A. (Macmillan), will be found not only an authoritative sketch of the artist's career, but a rather remarkable series of half-tone reproductions from his most famous works. As these illustrations are in many instances made from photographs taken of Reynolds' pictures in private galleries throughout England, their collection in this volume is a matter to be noted by all admirers and students of Reynolds' masterpieces.

Jean François Millet was an artist in whom the American public has always felt a peculiar interest because of the great number of his paintings that have found their way to this side of the Atlantic. This may partly account for the fact that much of the best writing about Millet and his work has appeared in American publications. The latest life of the painter (Macmillan) is the work of an Englishwoman, Julia Cartwright (Mrs. Henry Ady). This writer has made thorough researches which have resulted in the accumulation of letters and recollections that have come from English and American pens since the death of the artist, and in many respects she has been able to make a more complete and well-rounded picture of the man than has before been presented in English. Several excellent photogravure reproductions from Millet's most famous paintings accompany the text.

"With Napoleon at St. Helena" is the title of a volume of memoirs of Dr. John Stokoe, naval surgeon (New York: John Lane). The purpose in publishing these memoirs seems to have been to controvert the arguments made by English writers in support of the conduct of Sir Hudson Lowe, the commandant of St. Helena, who was accused by Napoleon's friends of gross acts of cruelty. The statements made by this naval

surgeon, who was on the island from June, 1817, to September, 1819, are certainly derogatory to the reputation of the commandant.

"Samuel and His Age: A Study in the Constitutional History of Israel," by George C. M. Douglas (New York: E. & J. B. Young & Co.), represents the work of the school of higher criticism, so called, in England and America, and is a valuable study in the history and sociology of the Jewish people.

The first biography of Emperor Charles V. since the work of Robertson a century and a quarter ago is a two-volume life by Edward Armstrong (Macmillan). This biography is necessarily very largely a history of the times, and the author has not adhered in all cases to the methods of strictly chronological treatment, preferring to treat the main events of Charles the Fifth's life in the order of their occurrence, but to relegate to separate chapters the discussion of particular phases of policy or action.

A paper in the "Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science" entitled "The Political Activities of Philip Freneau," by Samuel E. Forman (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press), is an attempt to outline the career of Freneau as a politician and publicist. The writer has approached his task in a spirit of fairness, and believes that the facts of Freneau's life,—far from justifying the contemptuous epithets that historians have usually bestowed on him,—should really inspire the gratitude of posterity.

In a volume entitled "Sea Fighters from Drake to Farragut" (Scribners) Jessie Peabody Frothingham sketches the careers of Sir Francis Drake, Admiral Tromp, Admiral de Ruyter, Marshal de Tourville, Vice-Admiral Saint-Tropez, Vice-Admiral Paul Jones, Lord Nelson, and Admiral Farragut. Some of these names are not familiar, perhaps, to American youth, but two of the eight, it will be noted, can be claimed by America, and the English sea fighters Drake and Nelson are almost as well known in this country as Paul Jones and Farragut. There is enough of adventure in the lives of these worthies to make up a thick volume of thrilling sea tales.

In "Naval Heroes of Holland" (Abbey Press), Mr. J. A. Mets traces the careers of Van Heemskerck, Hein, Tromp, and De Ruyter.

BOOKS OF TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION.

The results of Mr. Henry Norman's observations in European Russia, Finland, Siberia, the Caucasus, and Central Asia are included in a substantial volume entitled "All the Russias" (Scribners). During the last few years Mr. Norman has made no less than four journeys in European and Asiatic Russia, one of which was of nearly 20,000 miles. He has lived in St. Petersburg for some time, made visits to other principal cities, and traveled in Siberia as far as Vladivostok and Lake Baikal, and in Central Asia as far as the frontier of Kashgar. The present volume is a rapid journalistic review of the most interesting aspects of contemporary Russia, with especial reference to industrial and commercial development and the possibility of closer commercial and political relations between Russia and Great Britain. The book may be said to have originated in the series of articles recently published in *Scribner's Magazine*, but the completed volume represents a great expansion of scope. Mr. Norman has included an important chapter on "M. de Witte and His Policy," another on "Russian Finance, Commerce, and

Industry," and a full discussion of Russia's international relations. All in all, Mr. Norman's book is the fullest presentation of the subject thus far attempted in English.

One of the editors of the London *Spectator*, Mr. Meredith Townsend, has written a volume entitled "Asia and Europe" (Putnams), presenting the conclusions formed in a long life devoted to a study of the subject. The author's purpose is to describe the inherent differences between Europe and Asia which, in his opinion, forbid a permanent conquest of either continent by the other. It is interesting to note that this author, while he has nothing to say of the possible influence of America upon Asia, makes the prediction in his preface that "When once the Nicaragua Canal has been cut the trade of the United States with farther Asia will be one of the greatest the world has ever seen, and Asia will fill a large space in American imaginations, always influenced by the spectacle of the gigantic."

Another recent book dealing with the same general topic is Bishop Henry C. Potter's little volume on "The East of To-day and To-morrow" (Century Company). Just after the close of serious hostilities in the Philippines and the quelling of the Boxer insurrection in China, Bishop Potter made a visit to Japan, China, India, the Hawaiian Islands, and the Philippines. In this book, which records the impressions produced by that journey, Bishop Potter writes of the present conditions and future prospects of the people in all of these countries, dealing especially with religion, tradition, class prejudice, method of living, politics, and general development. In his chapter on "The Problem of the Philippines," Bishop Potter affirms his belief, in regard to our army and civil servants in the Philippines, that the standards of conduct at Manila have been quite as high as at Washington or at Boston.

Every returned traveler from China brings new tales of that mysterious, half-explored land. The latest book of this sort is "Through Hidden Shensi," by Francis H. Nichols (Scribners). This volume is packed with information about a country and a people that have never forced themselves on the attention of the so-called "civilized" nations, and yet are well worthy of our study. Mr. Nichols devotes much space to the city of Sian, where, it will be remembered, the Emperor and Empress Dowager of China set up their temporary capital during the Boxer troubles of 1900.

An intimate study of many details of Chinese life not commonly described in travel-books is to be found in Mr. Edward S. Morse's "Glimpses of China and Chinese Homes" (Boston: Little, Brown & Co.). The interiors of Chinese houses; the streets of Chinese villages, and what is to be seen in them; Chinese theaters and Buddhist temples; a potters' town; a soldiers' drill-room, and many other institutions of the country, are sketched with minute fidelity.

Mr. Wilfrid Sparroy, an English tutor at the court of the eldest brother of the reigning Shah of Persia, has written an interesting narrative of his life there, under the title of "Persian Children of the Royal Family" (New York: John Lane). The characteristics of the popular prince in whose family Mr. Sparroy served are clearly brought out in this book, and the descriptions of Persian customs and court life are entertaining. The book is supplied with more than forty full-page illustrations, all reproductions from photographs.

Seized with the desire to observe for himself how men lived and thought forty centuries ago, Mr. Herbert

Vivian, the English traveler, recently made a journey to the center of Menelik's kingdom of Ethiopia, and an account of what he found there is contained in a volume entitled "Abyssinia: Through the Lion-Land to the Court of the Lion of Judah" (Longmans, Green & Co.). Mr. Vivian disclaims any unusual hardships or dangers on this expedition, offering to show that "anybody who possesses average health and strength—a lady almost as easily as a man—can go through the big-game country and visit strange African peoples without much greater danger or discomfort than would be involved in cycling from London to Brighton."

"Wayfarers in Italy," by Katharine Hooker (Scribners), states the impressions formed on a recent journey from the plains of Lombardy, through Milan, Florence, Rome, and Abruzzi, across the Apennines, and up the shore of the Adriatic to Venice. This traveler has sought to put herself in touch with the people of the regions visited by getting off the beaten tracks and seeking the unfrequented villages and country districts on either side of the course. The book is illustrated from photographs.

A great fund of information about the Scottish Border is to be found in Mr. W. S. Crockett's volume on "The Scott Country" (Macmillan). The reason for the title is to be found in the fact that, although Edinburgh was Scott's birthplace, and his home for the greater part of his professional career, the Borderland was the region with which his life was most closely associated, and which he has himself done so much in his works to make known to the world at large. The region covered by the present volume is the triangle included in lines drawn from Berwick-on-Tweed to the Solway, thence northward to Tweedsmuir and Broughton, in Peeblesshire, and again to the east back to the ancient seaport borough. The traditions and memories of this fascinating region, and especially its associations with the life and works of Scott himself form the subject-matter of Mr. Crockett's book. The pictures are numerous and interesting. Here we find "Old Mortality" himself, and others of Scott's favorite characters.

"London, as Seen and Described by Famous Writers," edited and translated by Esther Singleton (Dodd, Mead & Co.), is a compilation of views and impressions of the British metropolis as recorded in various works by travelers, and famous native and foreign writers. In her selection of these materials the editor has restricted herself almost entirely to descriptions of the nineteenth century London. The picturesque features of the city, and those that appeal especially to the artist, have been given much prominence. From this point of view even the London fog has its apologists and eulogists.

A wonderfully compact, useful, and well-written handbook is "France" by Pierre Foncin, edited and translated by H. H. Kane (New York: International Publishing Company). This book was written especially for foreigners, and follows the programme of the Alliance Française, an association which devotes itself to encouraging the thorough study of the French language and literature, and to spreading abroad accurate and impartial knowledge of France and her people. Probably nowhere else can be found so good a description of the land and the people presented in so few pages.

Bishop Goodsell of the Methodist Episcopal Church has written some pleasing sketches of nature, supplemented by studies of human character, which he has brought together under the title, "Nature and Charac-

ter at Granite Bay" (New York: Eaton & Mains), it being understood that "Granite Bay" is the name selected to stand for a certain nook on the shore of Long Island Sound, less than one hundred miles from New York City.

"New England and Its Neighbors" (Macmillan) is the title of Mr. Clifton Johnson's new volume of pen-and-camera pictures. This writer's method of combining authorship and photography has worked out so happily in his descriptions of country life in foreign lands that he has ventured to try the same method nearer home. In the new book there are capital descriptions of "Midwinter in Valley Forge," "A Ruin Beside Lake Champlain," "The Home of Fenimore Cooper," "A Historic Town in Connecticut" (Saybrook), "A Jaunt on Long Island," "A Canal-Boat Voyage on the Hudson," and various other scenes and incidents, all of which serve as a background, or setting, for Mr. Johnson's clever delineation of Yankee traits and characteristics. It is distinctively a book of rural life.

SOCIOLOGY AND POLITICS.

The latest publication of the American Economic Association (Macmillan) is a monograph on "The Negro in Africa and America," by Joseph A. Tillinghast. Some interesting facts regarding the origin and purpose of this study are brought out in a brief introduction contributed by Prof. Walter F. Willcox, of Cornell University. The monograph is the work of a Southern white man, the son of a slaveholder, who has pursued his work at Cornell, utilizing for the purpose a library "the nucleus of which in this field is a large anti-slavery collection." As a first step toward an understanding of negro character, Mr. Tillinghast has attempted this investigation into the hereditary influences, as well as the factor of environment, which have entered into the negro's history both in Africa and in America. The negro problem, as Mr. Tillinghast understands it is, "how to reduce the divergence in character between the white and black populations." In this monograph Mr. Tillinghast has made a helpful contribution to our knowledge of the basic conditions of which this "problem" is an outgrowth.

In "The Leaven in a Great City" (Dodd, Mead & Co.) Mrs. Lillian W. Betts shows how the standard of living is continually rising in New York through the efforts of the crowded population of frugal and industrious poor. Mrs. Betts describes the attempts made by churches, and other altruistic organizations, to help the working people in maintaining these higher standards and in reaching out in many directions for better things. The numerous illustrations made from photographs of familiar New York scenes do much to enforce the lessons of the text.

In the series of "Handbooks of American Government" (Macmillan) Prof. William C. Morey contributes a compact little volume on "The Government of New York: Its History and Administration." Dr. Morey's survey includes the historical growth, the structural features, and the administrative work of the

State government. In the third section,—in his discussion of the government's work,—Dr. Morey endeavors to counteract the prevalent idea that the government is an end in itself, and not simply a means to a higher end. His purpose is to set forth what the government actually does: in the administration of justice, by defining and protecting individual rights; in the protection of the community, through the exercise of the police power; in the support given to public education; in the supervision of public charities and corrections; in the control of economic interests; and in the management of the public finances.

"School Administration and Municipal Government" is the title of a Columbia University monograph, by Frank Rollins, Ph.D. (Macmillan). Dr. Rollins discusses his subject under the following chapter-heads: "The Interest of the State in the School Administration of Cities;" "The School Board, or Board of Education;" "Administration of External or Business Affairs;" "Supervisory Administration;" "Administration of Instruction and Discipline;" and "The School and the Community." From his study of the situation, Dr. Rollins concludes that it is the duty of the State to regulate city school administration in the interests of the people; that small boards of education should be appointed by the mayor for long terms, with gradual change, large powers, and fixed responsibility; that the routine of business administration should be placed in the hands of paid experts; and that there should be a high standard of qualification for the supervising and teaching force, ascertained by exacting tests, to be followed by large authority and secure tenure of office.

Mr. Harold W. Bowman has written an account of "The Iowa Board of Control: A Centralized System of Administration for State Institutions" (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Michigan Political Science Association). This is a careful study of a plan for unifying the supervision of charitable, penal, and correctional institutions.

In his book on "The Economic Interpretation of History" (Macmillan), Prof. Edwin R. A. Seligman, of Columbia University, gives a succinct history of the theory that, since the existence of man depends upon his ability to sustain himself, the economic life is the fundamental condition of all life. Professor Seligman explains the genesis and development of this doctrine; studies some of the applications made by recent thinkers; examines objections; and estimates the true import and value of the theory for modern science.

A revised edition of Mr. Horace White's "Money and Banking" (Boston: Ginn & Co.) has recently appeared. The first edition of this valuable work was published seven years ago. In the present revision the author has expunged certain controversial and other matter that had become obsolete, and has practically rewritten the book, adding several new chapters. While the question of the standards is no longer a controverted one, there are many other phases of our monetary and banking systems which require lucid exposition. Perhaps no American writer possesses this gift in fuller measure than does Mr. White.



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Burr, Aaron, as a Lawyer, E. L. Didier, GBag.
Bushnell, Horace, as a Theologian, F. H. Foster, BibS.
California in the Revolution, Margaret B. Harvey, AMonM.
California: The Preservation of the Big Basin, Carrie S. Walter, Over.
Camel: The Ship of the Desert, H. Vivian, Pear.
Camp-Keeping as a Fine Art, Henrietta S. Breck, CLA.
Canada: The French-Canadian in the British Empire—II., H. Bourassa, MonR.
Canoe, North, Passing of the, T. Adney, O.
Cape Nome, What a Woman Accomplished at, A. C. Koppell, Anga.
Cardiff Giant, True Story of the, A. D. White, Cent.
Caribou, Newfoundland, Pursuit of the, P. T. McGrath, O.
Carman, Bliss, Poetry of, J. P. Mowbray, Crit.
Carnegie, Andrew, H. W. Mabie, Cent.
Cartoonist, American, and His Work, A. Lord, Str.
Cashel, See of, and Its Late Archbishop, J. J. O'Shea, ACQR.
Caucasus, Conquest of the, by Russia, D. Sampson, ACQR.
Chicago, Present Street-Railway Situation in, H. A. Millis, Annals, September.
Chicory Cultivation in Belgium, J. E. Whitby, Cham.
Child Labor, Movement to Restrict, Leonora B. Ellis, Arena.
Child, Moral Training of, A. E. H. Griggs, LHJ.
Children, Literature for, Florence P. Perry, Mind.
Children, Sense of Humor in, Katherine A. Chandler, Cent.
Chinese Law, Landmarks of, V. Van M. Beede, GBag.
Christ, The Education of, W. M. Ramsay, Hom.
Christ, The Risen, at Damascus, A. Bumstead, Mon.
Christian Scientist, Why I am Not a, C. Caverno, BibS.

- Christian Unity, Organic, B. T. Stafford, Bibs.
Church, Denacry, B. T. Stafford, Bibs.
Church, The Spiritual, T. F. Wright, NC.
Cities, American, Statistical View of, W. G. Davis, Gunt.
City Life, From the Horrors of, T. Dixon, Jr., WW.
City, The Model, Suggested for the St. Louis Exposition, AA, September.
Civil War, Memories of a Hospital Matron in the—II., Emily V. Mason, Atlant.
Clerk, The Position of the, J. J. Nevin, West.
Clifford, Rev. Dr. John, W. T. Stead, RRL.
Climatological Association, American, San, September.
Coal Miner, Life of a, J. McDowell, WW.
Coal Mines, C. Benoist, RDM, September 15.
Coaling War Ships at Sea, F. C. Perkins, Mun.
Coffee and Tea as Precipitates for Poisons, J. W. England, San, September.
Collectivist Tendencies, A. Prins, RDM, September 15.
Commercialism, E. Atkinson, Atlant.
Composers, Russian, A. Bruneau, RPar, September 15.
Connotation in Labor Disputes, W. C. Clowes, AngA.
Consciousness, Notes on, P. H. Shipman, Mon.
Consciousness, Problem of, P. Carus, Mon.
Cooperative Brotherhood, W. E. Copeland, Arena.
Cricket: Australian Eleven of 1902, W. J. Ford, NatR.
Cricket Season of 1902 in England, H. Gordon, Bad; A. C. Maclaren, PMM.
Crime and Criminals, E. A. Dausman, ALR.
Criminal, Professional, in England, W. D. Morrison, IJE.
Criminals, Professional, More About, R. Anderson, NineC.
Criticism of Public Men, W. L. Cook, IJE.
Cross in History, in Doctrine, and in Life, W. Smith, NC.
"Cuban Reciprocity: A Moral Issue," Gunt.
Currency: The Circulating Medium During the Civil War, W. C. Mitchell, JPEcon, September.
Curtis, Cyrus Herman Kotschmar, E. Bok, Cos.
Daniel, Book of, Those Three Greek Words in the, W. C. Wilkinson, Hom.
Danvers, Massachusetts, F. E. Moynahan, NEng.
Davids, The Late Professor A. B.—II., G. A. Smith, Bib.
Davis, Richard, Harditz: His Home, and His Methods of Work, J. F. J. Archibald, BB.
Deaconesses, Scriptural Conceptions of, G. E. Hiller, MRN.
Deer, Virginia, Hunting the, T. S. Van Dyke, O.
Deluge, Noachian, Geological Confirmations of the—II., G. F. Wright, Bibs.
Democracy, Government by, E. R. Newbigin, Contem.
Denmark and the Treaty, Gertrude Atherton, NAR.
Devery, William S., H. MacDonald, FRL.
Disease, Modern Life and, F. M. Crandall, WW.
Dowie, John Alexander, Analyzed and Classified, J. M. Buckley, Cent.
Dowie, John Alexander: The Prophet and His Profits, J. Swain, Cent.
Drama, The Winter's, W. Bathon, Cos.
Dramatists, An Elizabethan and Two Modern, J. Kindon, Gent.
Draughtsman in the Workshop, W. H. Booth, Eng.
Dress, Art in, Jennie C. West, Mun.
Duck-Float, How to Build and Use a, J. B. Harper, O.
Düsseldorf Exposition, Features of the, H. Emerson, Eng.
Dygraph Card, Dudley J. M. Adams, Pear.
Edeson, Robert, Sketch of, FRL.
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Child-Study, New Lines of Attack in, F. E. Bolton, KindR.
Child-Study, What Our Schools Owe to, T. B. Noss, KindR.
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Commercial Studies in the High School, C. W. Irish, School, September.
Contagion, What School Children Should be Taught Regarding, C. V. Chapin, San, September.
"Cribbing," Diagnosis of, E. P. Buffet, Ed.
Education in England and America, M. E. Sadler, EdR.
Education Through the Home and by Play, R. G. Boone, Ed.
Educational Progress of the Year 1901-02, W. R. Harper, EdR.
Elementary School Curriculum, Katharine E. Dopp, AJS, September.
English Curriculum, J. H. Harris, School, September.
Fairy Tales in the Schoolroom, Catherine I. Dodd, NatR.
French in German Secondary Education, H. Paris, Revue, October 1.
High-School Attendance, F. D. Boynton, School, September.
History in Our Public Schools, E. McMahon, Ed.
Individuality of the Pupil, W. T. Harris, EdR.
Latin, First-Year, Teaching of, B. L. D'Ooge, School, September.
Moral Development of the Child, Prof. Earl Barnes' Chautauqua Lectures on the, Kind.
Moral Instruction in Our Schools, C. R. Skinner, Ed.
New England Grammar School, 1635-1700, W. H. Small, School, September.
New York Public School, A Day in a, W. McAndrew, WW.
Outlook in the Educational World, O. H. Lanz, Forum.

- Liberal Party Developments, O. Eltzbacher, MonR.
Men of Letters, British, as Seen through American Glasses—II., PMM.
Military Education, T. B. Strange, USM.
Navy, British, 1889-1902, A. S. Hurd, CasM.
Overcrowding and Emigration, U. A. Forbes, LQ.
Radicals, The First English, A. M. D. Hughes, Mac.
Registrar-General, Letter to the, S. Coleridge, Contem.
Social Betterment in England ("Signs of the Coming Dawn"), W. T. Stead, RRL.
Greenhouse, The Home, E. Rexford, Lipp.
Grogan, George, and the Defense of Fort Stephenson, C. T. Brady, McCl.
Habeas Corpus in the Colonies, A. H. Carpenter, AHR.
Hague Court, The United States and Mexico at the, W. T. Stead, AMRR.
Hamilton, Alexander, J. Fiske, Cos.
Hardy, Thomas, The Women of, B. DeCasseras, Bkman.
Harte, Bret, Some Letters of, Mary S. Boyd, Harp.
Hawaii, Madam Pelee in, L. S. Cleveland, Over.
Hawthorne, Nathaniel, George Edward Woodberry's Life of, Atlant.
Hengstenberg, Ernst Wilhelm, B. Pick, Hom.
Hereditry in Royalty—III., F. A. Woods, Pops.
Hewlett, Maurice, The Italy of, Louise C. Hale, Bkman.
Hittites and Semites, W. M. Patton, MRN.
Holmes, Oliver Wendell, L. A. Jones, ALR; A. C. Post, McCl.
Holy Spirit, Place of the Doctrine of the, J. M. Campbell, Hom.
Homes for the Greatest Number, Caroline L. Hunt, Chaut.
Hong Kong, J. S. Thomson, Can.
Horse Racing, Scientific, W. S. Vosburgh, O.
Hospital Administration in the United States, Maud Banfield, Annals, September.
Hypnotism, Abuse and Control of, F. W. Eldridge-Green and E. G. P. Bousfield, Contem.
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Immigrant, America's Welcome to the, E. H. Abbott, Out.
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India, Fighting the Plague in, J. Oldfield, West.
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Ireland, Reawakening in, S. MacManus, Cath.
Ireland, Ruin of Education in, J. R. Fisher, NatR.
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Iron and Steel, American, Future Markets for, A. Sahlin, CasM.
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Iron Industry, American, Foundations of the, A. Brown, Eng.
Iron Mines on Lake Superior, W. S. Harwood, PMM.
Irving, Washington: Where He Lived and Wandered, Ella S. Mapes, Crit.
Islam, Revival of, E. Sell, MisR.
Israel, Ancient, Education of the Children in, C. H. Cornill, Mon.
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Italy, Fact and Fiction About, Anne E. Keeling, LQ.
Jesuits at Court, J. M. Stone, ACQR.
Jesus the Perfector of Faith, D. A. Hayes, Bib.
Jujutsu: Japanese Self-Defense Without Weapons, T. P. Terry, O.
Journalism, Religious, Personal Forces in—II., D. Williamson, Leish.
Jupiter, The Planet, G. W. Hough, PopA.
Justification, Doctrine of, J. W. Richard, Luth.
Kindergarten: see also Education.
Berlin Froebel Society's Course for Mothers, Gertrude Pappenheim, KindR.
Civic Growths, Public Kindergarten in, Constance M. Durham, Gunt.
Froebel, Denton J. Snider's Life of, Bertha Johnston, Kind.
Kindergarten, The Dearest, in the World, KindR.
Training School, History of Education in the, A. O. Norton, KindR.
Kipling, Rudyard, Echoes and Growth in, B. A. Heydrick, PL.
Kipling, Rudyard, The Colonial, E. Graham, AngA.
Knights Templars, Financial Relations of the, to the English Crown, Eleanor Ferris, AHR.
Labor Organizations in the United States, C. D. Wright, Contem.
Labor, Organized: What It Has Learned, R. M. Easley, McCl.
Labor Union Restriction of Industry, M. G. Cuniff, WW.
Lafite, Jean, True Story of, J. R. Spears, Mun.
Landscape Architecture in America, AI.
Language, An International: A Plea for the Study of Esperanto, RRL.
Law in the Emblem Writers, J. Williams, ALR.
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Legislation, Political and Municipal, in 1901, R. H. Whitten, Annals, September.
Leonids, The, W. H. Pickering, PopA.
Leonids of November, 1901, R. B. Taber, PopA.
Library, Public, Scientific Reading in a, A. E. Bostwick, Pops.
Library, Traveling, as a Civilizing Force, Jessie M. Good, Chaut.
Life Insurance Companies: How They Use Their Enormous Surplus, WW.
"Light Cure" at Copenhagen, J. Moritzsen, AMRR.
Light Cures: Old and New, A. E. Bostwick, Ev.
Lighting of Railway Trains in Europe, H. Guerne, Eng.
Lincoln, Abraham, and the Patronage, C. R. Fish, AHR.
Literary World, Events in the, F. J. Mather, Jr., Forum.
Literature: Knickerbocker Era of American Letters, G. E. Woodberry, Harp.
Lizards of the Desert, Two, D. Coolidge, CLA.
Local Option, A Study of, F. Foxcroft, Atlant.
Log Rafts of the Pacific, A. Inkersley, Over.
London and Londoners, C. M. Depew, PMM.
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Louisiana Purchase, A Spanish Opponent of the,—Chevalier d'Yrujo, C. H. Hart, Cent.
"Luck": What Is It? P. Latzke, Ev.
Luke, Gospel of, Medical Language in, R. J. Knowling, Bib.
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Mahan, Capt. A. T., Theories of, A. Moireau, RDM., October 1.
Mahayana Doctrine and Art—II., P. Carus, OC.
Majority Rule, Preserving Free Government through, B. O. Flower, Arena.
Mankind in the Making—II., The Problem of the Birth-Supply, H. G. Wells, Cos; Fort.
Massachusetts Institute of Technology, J. P. Munroe, NEng.
"Matter," Non-Existence of, A. S. Hawkesworth, West.
Mazzel, Florentine Filippo, Story of, Helen Zimmermann, NEng.
Meander Belts, Limiting Width of, M. S. W. Jefferson, NatGM.
Merrett, George ("A Knightly Pen"), Harriet W. Preston, Atlant.
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Methodism, Constitution of, J. J. Tigert, MRN.
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Milton, John: Did He Write "Nova Solyma"? BB.
Mind and Nature, A. E. Taylor, IJE.
Mining at High Altitudes, T. A. Rickard, CasM.
Miracles, Evidential Value of, L. B. Hafer, Luth.
Missions:
Africa, Central, Awakening in, D. Fraser, MisR.
Backward Movements of Our Times, A. T. Pierson, MisR.
Greek Students and Religion, Dr. Moxhen, MisR.
Hadramaut, Arabia, Appeal for, S. M. Zwemer, MisR.
India, Industrial Exhibitions by Christians in, J. T. Gracey, MisR.
India, Missionaries in, Sister Nivedita, West.
Islam, Our Point of View Toward, H. O. Dwight, MisR.
Latin America, Protestant Education in, H. M. Lane, MisR.
Marsovan Mission Station, Work of the, A. S. Hoyt, MisH.
Persia, Outlook in, B. Labaree, MisR.
Tsao Han Kin: A Christian Chinese, J. S. Adams, MisR.
Universities' Missions, American, J. H. Ross, MisR.
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Mithraic Mysteries, Doctrine of the—II., F. Cumont, OC.
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Monte Carlo, At, A. Castaigne, Harp.
Monuments, Ancient, Restoration of, P. Verhaegen, RGen, September.
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Municipal Socialism in Great Britain, J. Boyle, CasM.
Municipal Works, Art in, S. Baxter, Cent.
Music, Events in the World of, H. T. Finck, Forum.
Naval Defense Problem, Our, J. C. O'Laughlin, NatM.
Navy, American, Phases of the, W. W. Whitelock, Cass.
Negro Business League, National, B. T. Washington, WW.
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Negro Question, Crux of the, H. A. Stimson, BibS.
New York Chamber of Commerce, F. Matthews, WW.
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New York Public School, A Day in a, W. McAndrew, WW.
New York Subway, Difficult Engineering in the, F. W. Skinner, Cent.

- New York's Subway, Building, A. Ruhl, Cent.
 Newspaper Woman of To-day, Kate Masterson, Era.
 Nietzsche and Guyau, Ethics of, A. Fouillee, IJE.
 Nigeria, Northern, Sport in, B. R. M. Glossop, Bad.
 Norfolk, Bombardment of, January 1, 1776, A MonM.
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 Number as Determining Form of Group, G. Simmel, AJS, September.
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 Oxford and Cambridge Universities, Financial Management of, A. T. S. Goodrick, Black.
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 Philippine Constabulary and Its Chief, J. W. Jenks, AMRR.
 Philippines, Commerce and Tariffs in the, C. C. Plehn, JPEcon, September.
 Philippines, Establishment of Civil Government in the, L. S. Rowe, Annals, September.
 Philippines, Political Parties in the, W. H. Taft, Annals, September.
 Philippines, Work of the Friars in the, S. Bonsal, NAR.
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 Philostratus, The Apollonius of, W. B. Wallace, West.
 Photography:
 Backgrounds, Practical Points on, WPM, September.
 Daguerreotypes, Copying, J. A. Tennant, WPM, September.
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 Forgery, Expert Photography as Applied to, M. Backus, Over.
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 Ozotype, J. Hadden, CDR.
 Photographers' Association of America, WPM, September.
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 Portraiture at Home, W. Ide, CDR.
 Postcards, Sensitized, How to Make, E. Luchesi, AA, September.
 Radiography, Practical, E. Fleischman-Ascheim, FrIL.
 Scientific and "Freak" Photography, W. N. Brannan, Over.
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 "Pilgrim's Progress," The Land of the, J. W. Davies, Bkman.
 Pine Trees of New England, Annie O. Huntington, NEng.
 Ping-Pong, Game of, H. Essex, NatM.
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 Pirrie, Right Hon. W. J., Sketch of, Can.
 Planets, Our Sister, L. Irwell, Ros.
 Plant Adaptation, Study in, J. W. Toumey, PopS.
 Plant Battles, J. J. Ward, Harp.
 Playgrounds and Vacation Schools in New York, Bertha Johnston, Kind.
 Playgrounds, Chicago Summer, Grace Fairbank, Kind.
 Pleasure Grounds, Our Public, M. O. Stone, AMRR.
 Plymouth, Massachusetts: The Tourist and the Native, Ethel Hobart, NEng.
 Poetry and Its Relation to Life, E. Markham, Mind.
 Poetry, Canadian, G. J. H. Northcroft, LQ.
 Poetry, Modern, Modern Life and, Josephine P. Peabody, PL.
 Poetry, Modern, Religious Element in, F. Waters, Cath.
 Poets, American, Recollections of, W. Eaton, Cent.
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 Revivals in American Church History, J. E. McCulloch, MRN.
 Rhodes Scholarships,—The Will Proved; Mr. Parkin's Mission, RRL.
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 Sahara, Nature and Future of the, P. Leroy-Beaulieu, RDM, October 1.
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 St. Louis, Palatial Residences of, E. S. Hoch, NatM.
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 St. Vincent, An Adventure in, W. L. Clowes, Corn.
 Salmon Streams, Canadian, Sport on, A. P. Silver, Bad.
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 Shakespearean Questions—VII., Concerning Touchstone, W. J. Rolfe, PL.
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 Social Betterment in England, W. T. Stead, RRL.
 Social Conditions and Business Success, R. B. Van Cortlandt, NAR.
 Social Evolution, Three Primary Laws of, C. W. Macfarlane, Annals, September.
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 Social Reforms, J. A. Nicklin, West.
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 South Africa, By Coach Through, J. W. Davies, Lipp.
 South America, Our Diplomatic Mistakes in, A. J. Lamoureux, OutW, September.
 South Seas, A Mystery of the, H. V. Barclay, PMM.
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 Spain, Religious Crisis in, F. G. Smith, MRN.
 Specie, Prices, and the International Movement of, J. L. Laughlin, JPEcon, September.
 Spencer, Herbert, Last Words of, S. FitzSimons, ACQR.
 Spiritual Phenomena, W. H. Hinkley, NC.
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 Stevenson, Robert Louis, Essays by, F. M. Smith, PL.
 Stevenson, Robert Louis: Along the Route of His "Inland Voyage," J. B. Carrington, BB.
 Stone, Ellen M.: Six Months Among Brigands—V., McCl.
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 Street Railways and the Public, W. A. Bancroft, NatM.
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 Tennis Matches, International, of 1902, H. Brewster, Mun.
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Abbreviations of Magazine Titles used in the Index.

[All the articles in the leading reviews are indexed, but only the more important articles in the other magazines.]

Ains.	Ainslee's Magazine, N. Y.	Edin.	Edinburgh Review, London.	NC.	New-Church Review, Boston.
ACQR.	American Catholic Quarterly Review, Phila.	Ed.	Education, Boston.	NEng.	New England Magazine, Boston.
AHR.	American Historical Review, N. Y.	EdR.	Educational Review, N. Y.	NineC.	Nineteenth Century, London.
AJS.	American Journal of Sociology, Chicago.	Eng.	Engineering Magazine, N. Y.	NAR.	North American Review, N. Y.
AJT.	American Journal of Theology, Chicago.	Era.	Era, Philadelphia.	Nou.	Nouvelle Revue, Paris.
ALR.	American Law Review, St. Louis.	EM.	España Moderna, Madrid.	NA.	Nuova Antologia, Rome.
AMonM.	American Monthly Magazine, Washington, D. C.	Ev.	Everybody's Magazine, N. Y.	OC.	Open Court, Chicago.
AMRR.	American Monthly Review of Reviews, N. Y.	Fort.	Fortnightly Review, London.	O.	Outing, N. Y.
ANat.	American Naturalist, Boston.	Forum.	Forum, N. Y.	Out.	Outlook, N. Y.
AngA.	Anglo-American Magazine, N. Y.	FrL.	Frank Leslie's Monthly, N. Y.	OutW.	Out West, Los Angeles, Cal.
Annals.	Annals of the American Academy of Pol. and Soc. Science, Phila.	Gent.	Gentleman's Magazine, London.	Over.	Overland Monthly, San Francisco.
Arch.	Architectural Record, N. Y.	GBag.	Green Bag, Boston.	PMM.	Pail Mall Magazine, London.
Arena.	Arena, N. Y.	Gunt.	Guntton's Magazine, N. Y.	Pear.	Pearson's Magazine, N. Y.
AA.	Art Amateur, N. Y.	Harp.	Harper's Magazine, N. Y.	Phil.	Philosophical Review, N. Y.
AI.	Art Interchange, N. Y.	Hart.	Hartford Seminary Record, Hartford, Conn.	PhoT.	Photographic Times-Bulletin, N. Y.
AJ.	Art Journal, London.	Hom.	Homiletic Review, N. Y.	PL.	Poet-Lore, Boston.
Atlant.	Atlantic Monthly, Boston.	IJE.	International Journal of Ethics, Phila.	PSQ.	Political Science Quarterly, Boston.
Bad.	Badminton, London.	Int.	International Quarterly, Burlington, Vt.	PopA.	Popular Astronomy, Northfield, Minn.
BankL.	Bankers' Magazine, London.	IntS.	International Studio, N. Y.	PopS.	Popular Science Monthly, N. Y.
BankNY.	Bankers' Magazine, N. Y.	JMSI.	Journal of the Military Service Institution, Governor's Island, N. Y. H.	PRR.	Presbyterian and Reformed Review, Phila.
Bib.	Biblical World, Chicago.	JPEcon.	Journal of Political Economy, Chicago.	QJEcon.	Quarterly Journal of Economics, Boston.
BibS.	Bibliotheca Sacra, Oberlin, O.	Kind.	Kindergarten Magazine, Chicago.	QR.	Quarterly Review, London.
BU.	Bibliothèque Universelle, Lausanne.	KindR.	Kindergarten Review, Springfield, Mass.	RasN.	Rassegna Nazionale, Florence.
Black.	Blackwood's Magazine, Edinburgh.	LHJ.	Ladies' Home Journal, Phila.	RefS.	Réforme Sociale, Paris.
BB.	Book Buyer, N. Y.	LeisH.	Leisure Hour, London.	RRL.	Review of Reviews, London.
Bkman.	Bookman, N. Y.	Lipp.	Lippincott's Magazine, Phila.	RRM.	Review of Reviews, Melbourne.
BP.	Brush and Pencil, Chicago.	LQ.	London Quarterly Review, London.	Revue.	Revue, La, Paris.
CDR.	Camera and Dark Room, N. Y.	Long.	Longman's Magazine, London.	RDM.	Revue des Deux Mondes, Paris.
Can.	Canadian Magazine, Toronto.	Luth.	Lutheran Quarterly, Gettysburg, Pa.	RGen.	Revue Générale, Brussels.
Cass.	Cassell's Magazine, London.	McCl.	McClure's Magazine, N. Y.	RPar.	Revue de Paris, Paris.
CasM.	Cassier's Magazine, N. Y.	Mac.	Macmillan's Magazine, London.	RPP.	Revue Politique et Parlementaire, Paris.
Cath.	Catholic World, N. Y.	MA.	Magazine of Art, London.	RSoc.	Revue Socialistic, Paris.
Cent.	Century Magazine, N. Y.	MRN.	Methodist Review, Nashville.	Ros.	Rosary, Somerset, Ohio.
Cham.	Chambers' Journal, Edinburgh.	MRNY.	Methodist Review, N. Y.	San.	Sanitarian, N. Y.
Chaut.	Chautauquan, Chicago.	Mind.	Mind, N. Y.	School.	School Review, Chicago.
Contem.	Contemporary Review, London.	MisH.	Missionary Herald, Boston.	Scrib.	Scribner's Magazine, N. Y.
Corn.	Cornhill, London.	MisR.	Missionary Review, N. Y.	SR.	Seawane Review, N. Y.
Cos.	Cosmopolitan, N. Y.	Mon.	Monist, Chicago.	SocS.	Social Service, N. Y.
CLA.	Country Life in America, N. Y.	MonR.	Monthly Review, London.	Str.	Strand Magazine, London.
Crit.	Critic, N. Y.	MunA.	Municipal Affairs, N. Y.	Temp.	Temple Bar, London.
Deut.	Deutsche Revue, Stuttgart.	Mun.	Munsey's Magazine, N. Y.	USM.	United Service Magazine, London.
Dial.	Dial, Chicago.	Mus.	Music, Chicago.	West.	Westminster Review, London.
Dub.	Dublin Review, Dublin.	NatGM.	National Geographic Magazine, Washington, D. C.	WPM.	Wilson's Photographic Magazine, N. Y.
		NatM.	National Magazine, Boston.	WW.	World's Work, N. Y.
		NatR.	National Review, London.	Yale.	Yale Review, New Haven.
				YM.	Young Man, London.
				YW.	Young Woman, London.